The Constitution of the Field of Higher Education Institutions in Mozambique

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed:.....

Patrício Vitorino Langa

December 2006

To

Patricia Ashley de Judite Langa

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Key Terms

Capital

Constellation of higher education institutions

Cultural capital

Economic capital

Expansion and diversification of higher education

Field effects

Field properties

Forms of capital

Higher education institutions

Scientific capital

Social capital

Symbolic capital

Social space

Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate the implications of the expansion and diversification of public and private higher education institutions in Mozambique. There are two distinct stages of that expansion. The first stage is characterised by the establishment of two public higher education institutions, namely, the Higher Pedagogic Institute (ISP) in 1985, and the Higher Institute for International Relations (ISRI) in 1986, joining the University Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) founded in 1962.

The second stage is characterised by the emergence both of more public higher education institutions, but particularly by the emergence of a new type of higher education service supplier, the private higher education institution. An accelerated process of expansion and diversification of higher education institutions begins in the mid 1990's.

The first non-governmental higher education institution to open was the Higher Polytechnic and University Institute (ISPU), and the second was the Catholic University (UCM), a religious institution, both established in 1995. ISPU and UCM were followed in 1998 by Higher Institute of Science and Technology of Mozambique (ISCTEM), a technological institute, and by the Mussa Bin Bique University (UMBB), an Islamic university. In 2000 the Higher Institute of Transport and Communication (ISUTC) was also established. Currently; there are 23 legal higher education institutions both public and private.

Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of social field, this study analyses whether the constellation of higher institutions is functioning as a field. I hypothesise that as a result of the expansion and diversification of higher education institutions a very specific constellation is taking place leading to constitutive patterns and forms of interaction which resemble those identified by Bourdieu as typical of a field.

The empirical work takes the form of an exploratory study designed to establish the structure of positions of higher education institutions in a social space of capital. The dissertation finds that institutions can be positioned in a hierarchical and structured space of capital on the basis of the differential distribution of different form of capital (cultural, economic, scientific, and social).

The findings also suggest that well-established institutions are likely to have more capital and thus to be positioned in a dominant position in terms of symbolic capital. This is the case of UEM amongst the public institutions, displaying a high level of cultural capital (highly qualified academic staff), with significant number of its academic staff in higher positions in the academy, as also having a relatively larger number of income sources compared to Pedagogic University (UP), Higher Institute of International relations (ISRI) and the Police Academy (ACIPOL).

In other words, this suggests that institutions with higher symbolic capital and prestige like UEM will attract more cultural capital (academic staff with higher qualifications); more economic capital (a greater variety of income sources); more scientific capital (staff participating more in academic events) and more social capital (large networks of connections and membership in academic organizations). In sum, the findings of this study lend support to the theory that capital goes where there is capital, or that capital attracts capital.

List of abbreviations and acronyms

HES	**Higher Education Institutions**
ACIPOL	Police Sciences Academy
AM	Military Academy
EN	Nautical school
ISCISA	Higher Institute of Health Science
ISRI	Higher Institute for International Relations
ISCTEM	Higher Institute of Science and Technology of Mozambique
ISPU	Higher Polytechnic Institute and University
ISUTC	Higher Institute of Transport and Communication
UCM	Catholic University of Mozambique
UEM	University Eduardo Mondlane
UDM	Technical University of Mozambique
UP	Pedagogic University
UMBB	Mussa Bin Bique University

OAC	**Other abbreviations and acronyms**
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance
TFHE	The Task Force on Higher Education and Society
IMF	International Monetary Fund
SPHEM	Strategic Plan of Higher Education in Mozambique
UFICS	Unity for Training and Research in Social Science
WB	World Bank

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

1. Context of the study

The aim of this study is to analyse the implications of the expansion and diversification of Mozambican higher education that occurred from the mid 1990's. A brief historical overview of the establishment of higher education institutions in Mozambique is provided from the earlier 1960's. The first higher education institution was founded in 1962, under colonial rule, as the General University Studies of Mozambique (EGUM). In 1968 EGUM was turned to the University of Lourenço Marques (ULM) and then to the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) in 1976 a year after independence (SPHEM, 2000; Mário et al., 2003).

In 1985 the Higher Pedagogic Institute (ISP) was founded and joined the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM). The Higher Pedagogic Institute (ISP) was also converted to the Pedagogic University in 1989 (UP). In 1986 the Higher Institute for International Relations (ISRI) was established and joined (UEM) and (UP). These three public institutions comprised the terrain of higher education until 1994. This phase in the growth of the number of higher education institutions can be considered as the first wave. In fact, it was not a strong wave as only two new public higher education institutions emerged.

The second wave started in the mid 1990's with the 'mushrooming' of private higher education institutions. In this study I am interested in exploring the implications of this second wave, a period of expansion and diversification of higher education institutions nationwide as a result of a combination of a variety of factors. Some of these factors were:

1) The adoption of a new constitution in 1990 in the country, which led to a process of 'political transition' towards democratisation and the realization of multi - party elections (Macamo, 2002; Mário et al., 2003; Takala and Marope, 2003; Brito et al., 2005);

2) The environment of peace which resulted from the end of 16 years of prolonged 'brutal' war opposing the ruling party government FRELIMO, which caused the death of more than a million Mozambicans (Pakenham, 1992; Hume, 1994);

3) The acceptance of Mozambique into the Bretton Woods institutions that led to the adoption of a liberal market economy opened up opportunities for private providers of services in areas such as health, security, and education, including higher education (Cramer, 2001).

In summary, the adoption of the new constitution, peace and democracy plus the institution of a market economy formed the triple basis for this period of growth in Mozambican higher education. Indeed, since the adoption of Law nr. 1/1993 that authorised the establishment of private higher education institutions, six private insitutions were established. Coupled with the three established public universities and the public police academy established in 1999, by 2000 Mozambique had 10 higher education institutions (Mário et al., 2003, Brito 2003; Brito et al., 2005; Beverwijk, 2005).

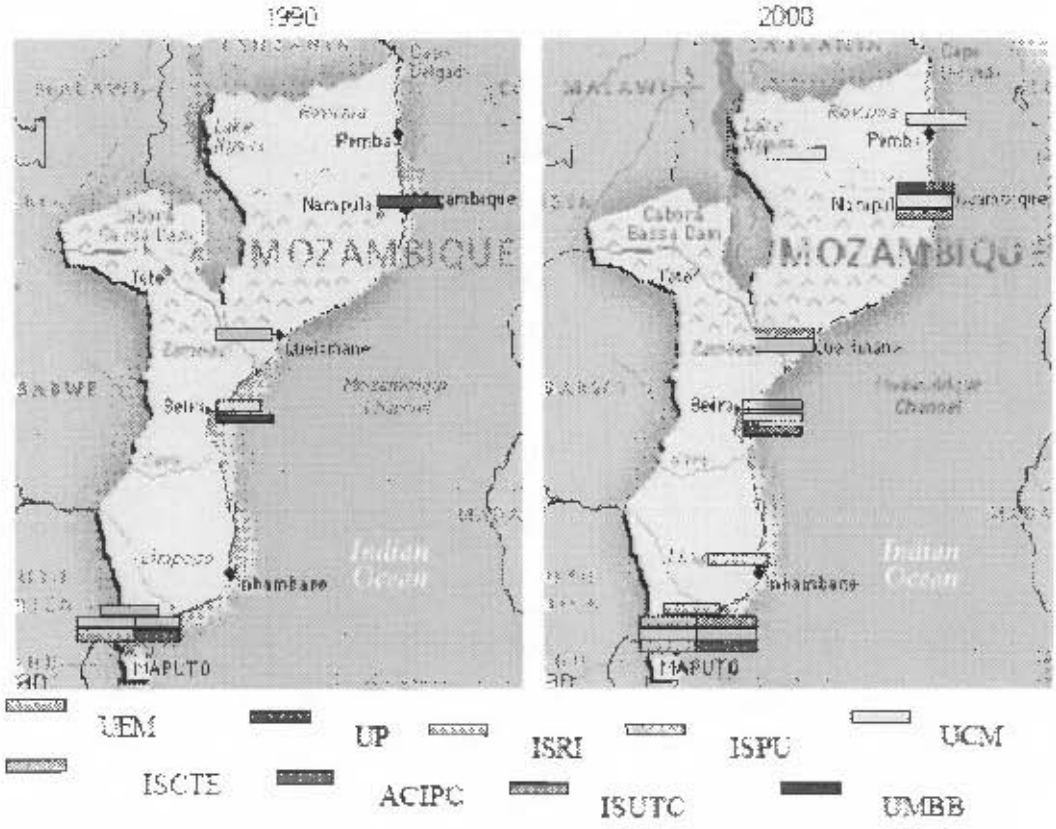
The terrain of higher education in Mozambique, up to the time this study was done in 2006, comprised 23 higher education institutions countrywide. Figure 1 shows only the first group of higher education institutions that were established between 1990 and 2000. It is that cluster of institutions that constitutes the core object of this study.

The expansion of higher education institutions has been accompanied by diversification. Some provide vocational training such as the technological higher education institutes and polytechnic universities. Adding to the diversity of the institutions is a greater variety in the programmes or courses on offer. The standard full-time courses in the public institutions are now accompanied by part-time courses. There is also an increase in the number, differentiation, and specialisation of public and private universities and polytechnics.

The phenomenon described above has been a major concern for scholars, government, and policy makers and has generated an international body of research that attempts to

explore diverse dimensions of its manifestation (Trow, 1972; 1999; Scott, 1995; 1998; TFHE[1], 2000; Holtland, 2005). Altbach (2005a), for instance, refers to the flip side in this process of expansion of higher education as the growth of inequality between centres and peripheries.

Figure 1: Evolution of the number of higher education institutions and their distribution in the country



Source: Brito (2003) The Mozambican experience: Initiating and Sustaining Tertiary Education Reform, Improving Tertiary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Things that Work, Accra, September 23-25, ADEA.

Another example of the debate on the expansion of higher education institutions comes from the World Conference on Higher Education, UNESCO 1998, from which two documents appeared - *World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-First Century: Vision and Action* and *The Framework for Priority and Change of Higher Education* - reflecting the rising concerns about the impact and centrality of higher education in many countries (Yonezawa and Kaiser, 2003).

[1] Task Force for Higher Education and Development

In summary, while the growth of higher education institutions leads to expansion and diversification it can also increase the inequalities between centres and peripheries. This dilemma shows how complex this process is and the need to examine its implication in its complexity. This research aims to study one of the dimensions of this expansion and diversification, the constitution of the field of higher education institutions in Mozambique.

1.1 Rationale for the study and statement of the problem

The study arises out of concern about the nature of the explanations of the expansion and diversification of higher education, particularly in Mozambique. Despite substantial efforts to account for the expansion phenomenon in Mozambique, most of the studies rely on a descriptive analysis of the expansion. The theoretical framework they rely on is of the transition from elite to a mass education system (Scott, 1995; Trow, 2000), but this framework has certain limitations.

In his article *'From Mass Higher Education to Universal Access'*, Trow, (2000) suggests that the history of higher education since the Second World War both in the United States and in Europe has been a history of the expansion of access and its consequences (Trow, 2000:01). Scott (1995) corroborates this argument when he asserts that the idea of an 'elite-to-mass' paradigm shift has become the standard account of how higher education systems have developed.

The perspective offers an illuminating way to account for expansion because it enables the Mozambican experience of expansion to be contextualised using a common language to describe its developments with that of analogous systems. Nonetheless the explanation fails to capture the dynamics and new patterns of interaction among agents and institutions in a context of multiple providers. In other words, the studies, such as Mário et al., (2003), Brito (2003), and Brito et al., (2005), fail to capture the implications of the expansion in terms of analysing the relational dimension.

On the one hand, studies objectify higher education as a separate realm by focusing on constituent parts of the field - such as specific institutions, actors, discourses and

practices abstracted from their determinations (Utui and Fry 1999; Brito, 2003). On the other hand, policy studies emphasize the centrality of the social, political, and economic interest of the state for policy formation, and treat higher education as a neutral relay for the resulting policies, as if they are unproblematically and uniformly implemented (Utui and Fry, 1999; Brito et al., 2003; Mário et al., 2003, Brito, 2005). What is required as an alternative, I suggest, is an understanding of higher education in Mozambique as a field.

1.2 Research aim

This study aims to explore the implications of the expansion and diversification of higher education institutions in Mozambique from the mid 1990s to 2003. Instead of analysing the process of expansion and diversification itself, the research examines the consequences of the outcome of the expansion and diversification process. The focus of the study, as mentioned before, is to suggest that the account of an 'elite-mass' transition is insufficient to capture the dynamics and relational dimension when accounting for the particular experience of the Mozambican expansion and diversification.

Bourdieu's theory of field and capital will be proposed as a framework that can adequately account, not merely for the expansion and diversification for which the 'elite-mass' shift may offer useful insight, but also for the implications of the expansion. In so doing, this research might begin to recapture the relational dimension, or the new patterns of interaction, among higher education institutions in a context of plurality of suppliers of higher education services.

As Scott (1995) noted, the wide ranging and long term issue of the implications of the 'elite-to-mass' shift has become a negligible consideration. This is the case when African and particularly the Mozambican reality is considered. The framework seems to mask details that characterize 'embryonic' systems and experiences of developing countries, such as Mozambique. The 'elite-to-mass' transition account imposes a linear regularity on developments that are neither linear nor regular. Nevertheless, the 'elite-to-mass' transition does offer some illumination, given the fact that it displays a

global trend. My account of the Mozambican experience is an attempt to uncover the peculiarities and the distinctiveness of its higher education evolution.

Instead of describing the process of transition from 'elite-to-mass' higher education, the focus is on examining the implications of a plurality of providers of higher education operating in the same social space. The concrete presence of a diversity of higher institutions competing, responding to markets and searching for resources will hopefully shed a new light on the system.

From the tardy progress of growth from the first higher education institution during the colonial 'night' in the 1960s, through the transition of independence to socialist experiment in 1977 – 1984 period, to the 'radical' change to a neo-liberal and market driven economy characterized by a diversification of higher education suppliers, there has been enormous transformation which allows us to consider that a 'silent revolution' occurred in Mozambican higher education in the last thirty years. It is the implications of this 'silent revolution' that I propose to study in this thesis.

1.2.1 Study field dynamics

This study proposes to illustrate the relative autonomy of the field of higher education in Mozambique. Studying and capturing the specific features of the functioning of the field should point out its autonomy. As Maton (2005:689) noted, the "field's autonomy is illustrated by the way it generates its own values and market achievements, but the relative nature of this autonomy means that values are not alone in shaping the field, economic and political power also play a role, albeit in a form specific to each field".

1.2.2 Research questions

This research aims to answer the following two questions that are related:

- What are the positions occupied by the different higher education institutions in the social space on the basis of differential possession of capital?

- Does the constellation of higher education institutions operate as a field?

The term Field is employed in the manner in which Bourdieu defines it; namely, as "simultaneously a space of conflict and competition, the analogy here being with a battlefield, in which participants vie to establish monopoly over species of capital effective in it – cultural authority in the artistic field, scientific authority in the scientific field, sacerdotal authority in the religious field and so forth – and the power to decree the hierarchy and the 'conversion rates' between all forms of authority in the field of power" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:17-18).

According to Bourdieu (1996:132) the presence of 'field effects' – manifested by the existence of competition, struggles for monopoly of different forms of capital, such as academic capital, economic capital, cultural capital and social capital in which the contenders make use of different strategies such as usurpation and exclusion – is one of the chief indicators of the fact that a set of actors and institutions function as a field. It is as well one of the reliable instruments for empirically determining the limits of the field, which is simply the point at which theses effects are no longer found.

In proposing a way to answer those two questions, this study hopes to contribute to a sociological understanding of the evolving process of Mozambican higher education. As sociological thinking and research can contribute to practical policy - making and social reform in different ways, I hope to provide a clear and more adequate understanding of the implications of the expansion and diversification of higher education in Mozambique. That is the practical significance of this study.

1.3 Outline of contents

The second chapter articulates in more detail the problem that this study explores. It reviews some of the literature on the expansion and diversification of higher education moving from a global to a local development context. These contexts to the study of expansion and diversification serve to problematise some of the assumptions of the transition from 'elite-to-mass' higher education as a linear and regular process.

In addition, the Mozambican context call for an alternative perspective on expansion and diversification, a perspective that prioritises the implications of the phenomenon in terms of the constitution of a social field, due to the establishment of new structures of power relations among the agents. What is needed, particularly in Mozambique, are studies of the implications of that expansion and diversification to shed some light on the role of social agents and their power relations. The meaning of higher education for the different agents involved in it, their interest, stakes, strategies, material, and symbolic resources and the relations of power with other fields, such as the field of power, are issues that have not yet been explored in Mozambique. Although these are important, this study is able to make only a very modest step in this direction.

The main purpose of the third chapter is to construct a theoretical perspective to account for the implications of expansion and diversification of higher education institutions. In justifying my perspective, I explore Bourdieu's theoretical framework informed by the conceptual triad of field, capital, and habitus, arguing that Bourdieu's concepts can illuminate the ways in which we can understand the consequences of expansion and diversification of higher education in particular contexts.

The fourth chapter provides an account of the methodology and research design used in this study and the methods for data collection and analysis. I intend to make the expansion and diversification of higher education in Mozambique a sociological object of study. As considered by Bourdieu, "the peculiar difficulty of sociology, then, is to produce a precise science of an imprecise, fuzzy, woolly reality" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:23).

This is a methodological point of rupture in which researchers must recognise that unless they construct the objects of their research they are left dealing with objects that have been pre-constructed within a narrow approach (Silva and Edwards, 2004). In doing so, I am being what Bourdieu would consider a pluralist, in the sense that the array of methods used must fit the problem at hand and must constantly be reflected upon in *actu* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

The fifth chapter analyses the data gathered and also discusses the findings according to the questions that guided the research. I conclude the analysis with the construction

of a social typology – a hierarchical structure of positions – of the field of higher education in Mozambique. The typology resulted from the placement of higher education institutions in a relative space of position based on the distribution of capital.

Chapter 6 is reserved for concluding remarks with which I aim to answer to the research questions posed in this research. I argue that the configuration of higher education institutions in Mozambique and the structure of positions in that social space can be regarded as a social field, that the process of expansion and diversification of higher education institutions led to the constitution of a social field of higher education institutions. The claim is that it has been possible to sketch, in an exploratory manner, the structure of positions that higher education institutions occupy in a constructed space of capitals. Finally, I discuss the insights gained from this research, particularly with regard to the methodological limitations, and project a way forward.

In the appendices I have presented a summary of the interviews. The interviews are intended to give an overview of the kind of data I should explore in an intended PhD research project. The data is not central for the analysis in this study.

Chapter 2: Expansion and diversification of higher education

2. Introduction

The aim of this section is to give a sense of the expansion of higher education as global phenomena, which began early after the Second World War. This provides a context within which to locate an understanding of the expansion in Mozambique. Mozambique is considered a 'Lusophone' country, that is, Portuguese speaking country' and its specificity differs from that common in Francophone and Anglo-Saxon countries. Nonetheless, extensive historical developments will be avoided as well as many of the details. I will rely on Scott (1995) and Trow (2000) to support this section. Both authors examine what they have named 'massification', 'internationalization' and 'globalisation' of higher education.

The core argument they present is that the university has not always been an international institution. Rather, the history of higher education since the Second World War, both in the United States and in Europe, has been a history of expansion of access and its consequences (Trow, 2000). Thus, the growth of national systems of higher education is a by-product of the development of the modern nation-state, which has acted as a sponsor of new institutions, predominantly as founder and planner or coordinator (Scott, 1995:13).

However, the situation described is neither linear nor regular. In Africa, for instance, according to Matos (1998), in spite of the crucial role of higher education, most agencies and African governments disengaged from the sector in the 1980's and early 1990's on the grounds that rates of social return in basic education are much higher than in higher education. Starved of funds, African higher education was brought near to collapse (Matos, 1998: 02).

These two factors, the growth of access and the role of the state seem to be factors to take into consideration in the analysis of expansion and diversification of higher education in contexts such as Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly the Mozambican case as I will illustrate further in this study.

2.1 Expansion and diversification: a global phenomenon

In a book edited by Scott (1998) *The Globalisation of Higher Education*, he points out and analyses the links between the growth of mass higher education systems and the radical processes of globalisation which include not only constant fluxes in the global markets and new information technologies but changing conceptions of time and space (Scott, 1998: 108). The last feature invokes Giddens' (1990) conceptualisation of globalisation in terms of the idea of a radical change in understanding of the two Kantian categories of time and space. From that perspective higher education is implicated as creator, interpreter, and victim of these trends.

Scott's conceptualisation of the globalisation of higher education is interesting because of the attempt to make sense of the connections between the expansion and diversification of higher education and the development of global politics, markets and culture. There is one further aspect that makes this particular approach interesting, namely its significant attempt to put the transformation of higher education within the context of a more general account of globalisation and its local implication (Scott, 1998: 122)

Perkin (1997), borrowing the same argument from Trow (2000), accounts for the worldwide expansion of higher education, and ascertains that it consisted in a transition from an 'elite-to-mass' higher education, from a system catering for less than 3 percent of the student age group more than 15 percent, and even for as much as 30 to 50 percent in the most advanced countries. Nevertheless, Perkin's account is limited because it emphases the chronological and geographical establishment of universities rather than the relation among the institutions in a specific country (Perkin, 1997: 20-30).

This study examines the local implications of that expansion, in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly the Lusophope countries, before focussing special attention to Mozambique.

2.1.1 Expansion in Sub-Saharan Africa

It is now common knowledge that higher education institutions in Africa were established in the run-up to, or directly after, independence (Manub, 2002). Higher education institutions, particularly the universities, were thus given a task to produce the 'manpower' Mário et al. (2003) that was going to operate the state machinery left by the departing colonial authorities therefore producing what Mamdani (2000) has called 'mimic' men and women (cited in Manub, 2002).

As noted by Beverwijk (2005) the majority of colonial universities were established in 1950, a decade before African independences. Consequently, the growth in numbers of higher education institutions is a post-independence phenomenon. Matos, the former general secretary of the Association of African University (AAU), gives a more precise picture. Africa, with about 800 million inhabitants in 53 countries, had in 1997 only 300 universities and approximately 300 other institutions of higher education (Matos, 1998:02)

Initially newly independent countries and poorer countries more generally looked to higher education systems to deliver support to national efforts to raise standards of living and alleviate poverty (The Task Force on Higher Education and Society (TFHE), 2000). However, no country in the Sub-Saharan region can claim complete success in achieving these traditional 'nation-building' goals. According to the TFHE report commissioned by the World Bank, since 1960 higher education has been forced to confront what they named as the 'new realities': expansion, differentiation, and the knowledge revolution (TFHE, 2000).

2.1.2 Expansion in Lusophone Africa

The major university expansion from their European and American heartland occurred from the mid 19th century to the present. The colonial powers, especially the British, implanted universities in their colonies (Altbach, 2005:02). In all cases, universities established in the colonies resembled institutions in the metropolis – albeit at a lower quality level (Ashby, 1964, cited in Altbach, 2005).

In Lusophone Africa the pattern was not significantly different, though the nature of Portuguese colonialism was that of a weak power. According to Perkin (1997: 29) Portugal was less active in colonial education than Spain; for instance, the first Brazilian university at Rio de Janeiro was not founded until 1920, nearly a century after independence. Thus, this particular feature of Portuguese colonialism is reflected in the African Portuguese speaking countries' delay in the establishment of higher education institutions.

Only Mozambique and Angola had their first higher education institutions within the colonial period. As stated before, in 1962 the Portuguese established the General University Studies of Mozambique (EGUM)[2], later converted into Lourenço Marques University and finally to Eduardo Mondlane University in 1976, a year after independence, to honour the first president of the liberation struggle. In Angola the University of Luanda was established in 1968 (Chilundo 2003; Bervejwik 2005).

The Portuguese during the colonial period, in contrast to the British and the French, left a small legacy in terms of higher education institutions. The expansion and diversification of these is then a phenomenon that occurred under the new independent African nation-state.

2.2 Mozambican higher education: a brief history of expansion and diversification

2.2.1 Introduction

This section provides a short overview of historical developments in higher education in Mozambique, as a background to the chapters which follow. The history of higher education in Mozambique is a very underdeveloped sub-field at present, and more in depth studies are required before a full picture can surface. In other words, the history of higher education in Mozambique is a history of its constitution. A brief historical sociology is provided here, to make sense of the analysis in the following chapters regarding the particular phase of expansion and diversification of higher education institutions.

[2] *Estudos Gerais e Universitários de Moçambique* (in the original Portuguese).

Mozambique is regarded as a country that went through considerable transformations in the last three decades. In the last thirty years Mozambique experienced ten years of struggle for its independence and sovereignty from Portugal in 1975, followed by a devastating civil war soon after independence (1977/8) which only ceased in 1992 following a peace agreement between the government of the ruling party FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique)* and the former armed rebel movement, RENAMO (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*).

From 1977 to 1984 the country embarked on what I would consider a utopian[3] project of building a socialist society as a means to achieving development and an equitable society, redressing the social inequalities inherited from the colonial legacy. The last 14 years have been a period of substantial peace for Mozambique, a side from the natural disasters that beset the country cyclically. Since the country has joined the Bretton Woods institutions – World Bank and International Monetary Fund – and embarked on a structural adjustment program, Mozambique is regarded as one of the few examples of successful transitions to democracy and a liberal market economy in Africa.

According to Mário et al. (2003) these dramatic changes over the past 30 years in Mozambique also affected higher education. Beverwijk (2005) refers to the same period as one of turbulent transformations. The two authors acknowledge that despite these transformations that resulted from civil war which affected the economic and political stability the number of higher education institutions has increased.

The new terrain of higher education in Mozambique can be distinguished from the previous one by the following three basic characteristics:

1) In 1975 Mozambique inherited only one higher education institution from the Portuguese colonials. Almost none of the qualified academic staff remained behind when the Portuguese left the country. The new government had to start from almost zero recruiting and training academic staff and also students.

[3] It is not my intention to recall a controversial issue of the utopian thinking, its own definition. The point that I am trying to make is that at a particular moment of the construction of Mozambique as a sovereign country there was an investment in a possibility of the 'Not Yet', socialist society, and 'Not - Yet-Become' type of society. See Mendieta (2002) for a discussion on the 'End of Utopia'.

Narciso Matos, the former second Rector (Vice Chancellor) of the Eduardo Mondlane University in an interview given to the Carnegie Corporation in New York in the year 2000 commented:

> In the 1974 academic year, the university had 3, 000 students. Most of them were white students and the entire faculty was white. And one year after independence, in 1975, the university was down to 700 students. It means that most of them left to go to Portugal. Almost all the lecturers and professors also left, except for a handful that stayed in the country (Carnegie Corporation New York, 2000).

2) The University Eduardo Mondlane was seen at that time as the headquarters for producing the 'manpower' (Mário et al., 2003) for the country or as I would put it in a Gramscian way, the university was the locale to produce the '*organic intellectual*' who was going to make the socialist experiment feasible (Gramsci, 1971).

3) A civil war which started soon after the independence in (1977/8) and intensified from 1983 brought an incalculable setback economically, socially and politically. This is the terrain in which higher education in Mozambique evolved.

Before embarking on a short history of higher education in Mozambique I shall briefly refer to the three principal stages which characterise the constitution of higher education in the country: the colonial stage, the socialist stage, and the post-civil war stage which also coincides with the country adopting the ideology of a market economy under the auspices of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This classification of the phases of higher education evolving is shared by most scholars who study the Mozambican system (Mário et al., 2003; Utui and Fry 1999; SPHEM 2000-2010; Beverwijk 2005).

2.2.2 Higher education for the colonials

There is enough evidence for an undisputed consensus that higher education, particularly in the colonial age, was a privilege for the sons and daughters of the Portuguese colonialists (Bloom, Canning and Chan, 2006; Enemark, 2005; Mário et

al., 2003; Chilundo, 2003; Cross, 2001; Utui and Fry, 1999). Mondlane (1977), probably the first Mozambican sociologist, founder and first leader of the liberation movement FRELIMO, noted in his famous book *Struggle for Mozambique* that there were two main goals for the Portuguese for educating the Africans:

1) To train some individuals of the population to act as intermediates between the colonial state and the population.

2) To inculcate a servile attitude in the educated Africans.

The role of education was to be an instrument of 'discipline'[4], an institution to shape the body and mind of the African people. Educating Africans intended to inculcate the habits and aptitudes for work, harmony among sexes, and a notion of time, to ascertain the maximum profit in the manufactured work they were supposed to do. Thus, there was no reason to provide higher education.

I find in Mondlane's explanation a sociological reasoning for the relatively small number of Africans in tertiary education. Nonetheless, other scholars believe that the small number was due to the unique characteristic of higher education institutions that were a branch of the Portuguese universities (Chilundo, 2003). Access was strongly based on possession of social and economic capital which allowed very few Africans those called 'assimilados[5]' (to Portuguese culture) (Cross, 2001), to enter higher education.

According to Mário et al., (2003) the university was available primarily to the sons and daughters of colonists. Even though the colonial government preached non-racism and advocated the assimilation of its African subjects to the Portuguese way of life, the notorious deficiencies of the colonial education system established under their rule ensured that very few Africans would ever succeed in reaching university level.

[4] For more on Foucault's notion of discipline see Foucault (1995).
[5] The term was used by the Portuguese to refer to those 'indigenous' people who rejected their 'own culture' and assimilated the Portuguese way of life.

In spite of Portugal's attempts to counter international criticism of racism in its colonies by expanding African educational opportunity in the late 1960s and early 1970s, only about 40 black Mozambican students, less than two per cent of the student body, had entered the University of Lourenço Marques by independence in 1975 (Mário et al., 2003:07).

2.2.3 The post-colonial higher education: the socialist experiment

Elsewhere in the beginning of this study I characterised the evolving process of higher education in Mozambique as one which experienced drastic changes and turbulent transformation. This section will refer to the transition from the later colonial period to the socialist experience early after the country's independence, and highlight the main features of higher education in that period.

There is a considerable number of studies, book articles and occasional papers, characterising this period of education in Mozambique (Utui and Fry, 1999 SPHEM, 2000; Mário et al., 2003; Cruz e Silva et al., 2005). Most of the studies converge in their characterization of the system, with small differences in the emphasis each study gives to a particular aspect. Thus, I shall focus on the convergences. Three aspects stand in that characterization.

Firstly, it is acknowledged by scholars that there is a link between the Revolution of the Carnations in Portugal April 1974, which precipitated the process of independence in the colonies, and the exodus of staff and students to Portugal (Utui and Fry, 1999; Mário et al., 2003).

Secondly, soon after independence in June 1975, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), which had been assisted by the Soviet bloc during the war for independence, adopted a Marxist-Leninist form of government, resulting in a period of central planning.

Thirdly, Mozambique's independence, its socialist orientation and its support for South African and Zimbabwean liberation movements provoked the wrath of

Rhodesia and South Africa that, so that successively they, provided financial and logistical support to the rebel Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO).

Unremitting violent war compounded by drought and the growing unpopularity of FRELIMO's socialist programme brought the Mozambican economy to a collapse. By the mid-1980s, Mozambique had become one of the poorest countries in the world, with an estimated annual per capita income of $60. As the war progressed and government revenues declined, morale foundered and the university lost all possibility of research outside the city of Maputo, while buildings, laboratories and other facilities became increasingly decrepit (Mário et al., 2003: 09).

2.2.4 Peace, democracy and liberal market

The mid 1990's was a period of growth for higher education, at least in terms of the diversity of higher education providers. The diversity of suppliers was due to a new political and economical environment and a result of changes that were still underway in the country. In 1990 the country adopted a new constitution. That was the major legal step for peaceful agreement (which put a stop to 16 years of 'brutal' and inexplicable war in 1992). Two other facts, one external and one internal, contributed to theses changes in the country:

- The end of the 'cold war' and the 'victory' of the liberalism proclaimed by Fukuyama (1992) as the '*End of the history and the last man*' created an international climate which made socialism an unpleasant development model in countries such as Mozambique.

- The implementation of the rules of the Bretton Woods institutions in terms of financial and political principles of governance created conditions for countries like Mozambique to be eligible for multi-lateral loans.

From 1987 there was evidence that the country had swapped from socialism to democracy, from centralised planned economy to liberal market economy driven principles.

2.2.5 The 'ambivalence causes' underlying the expansionist phenomenon

The focus of this section is not to analyse in a descriptive way the expansion and diversification of higher education institutions in Mozambique, but rather to examine whether it emerges from "a response of higher education institutions to a double-edged exhortation, which comes exogenously from either the policy prescriptions of the national government, or from the multiform facets of global markets, or often from both together" (Muller, 2003:102). In other words, one would ask whether the de-regulative steering of the government or the market logic of differentiation engendered the expansionist and diversification process in Mozambican higher education. These axes seem to be contradictory or ambivalent. However it was under that ambivalent conjecture that most institutions emerged in Mozambique.

The TFHE (2000:16) acknowledges that expansion has produced a variety of consequences. It considers that a more creative response has been seen in differentiation, a process whereby new types of institutions are born and new providers enter the sector. In the Mozambican case the terms public and private are used to grossly refer to that diversification. However I have suggested that the diversity is more complex than it seems, and that the frequently used terms, public and private, are somewhat reductive.

There is a considerable difference among the public and among the private institutions. The term public refers to the governmental institutions and private refers to non-governmental institutions. In the first group there is, for instance, Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) with characteristics of a Research University[6]; Pedagogic University (UP) a teacher training college and Higher Institute for International Relation (ISRI) is an institution for staff capacity building established following the orders of the former president of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, supposedly to train diplomats and experts in international affairs.

[6] A research university normally refers to a higher education institution which combines teaching and research...See: Perkin (1997) in his account for the emergence of research universities. On the classification of higher education institution according to its vocation there is considerable literature. For instance, Scott (1995:83) suggests five models based on university state relations and the demarcation between private and public institutions.

Among the private institutions some researchers such as Mário et al., (2003), see also TFHE, (2003), distinguish between 'for-profit' and 'non-profit', denominational – with religious orientation – and lay institutions, philanthropic and non-philanthropic. To give a broad picture, in the beginning of the expansion and diversification process the first non-governmental higher education institution to open was a polytechnic and university institute, Higher Institute Polytechnic and University (ISPU); the second was a catholic university, Catholic University of Mozambique (UCM). Both institutions were established in 1995. ISPU and UCM were followed in 1998 by another technological institution, Higher Institute of Science and Technology of Mozambique (ISCTEM) and an Islamic university, Mussa Bin Bique University of Mozambique (UMMB). In 2000 a higher institute of transport and communication was also established, Higher Institute of Transport and Communication (ISUTC).

This study is concerned with the evolving process of expansion and diversification, in particular, with the constellation that emerges from the interaction between these institutions. For the purpose of this dissertation, I shall establish the preliminary basis for further analysis of that interaction and its possible outcomes, remaining at the level of constructing the relative space of positions of the institutions.

2.3 Approaches to the study of expansion in Mozambique

As the Mozambican sociologist Carlos Serra noted once, there is no sociological tradition in Mozambique (Serra, 1997). There is similarly little sociological analysis of higher education. However, in contrast to the doomsday scenario that characterized writing and training in social science, particularly in higher education in Mozambique over the past two decades, the period from 1994 may be regarded as one of new hope to construct critical knowledge on higher education studies in the country.

The following authors have been producing what constitutes the corpus of knowledge on Mozambican higher education. For example, a study by Mário et al., (2002) a Review of Education Sector Analysis in Mozambique, 1990-1998, gives a broad picture of what has been investigated in education in general, and in higher education in particular (Brito et al., 2005; Mário et al., 2002; Mário et al., 2003; Fry and Utui, 1999). The review consists of an inventory and critical analyses of the existing studies

from 1990-1998. Most studies in higher education in the country remain policy oriented due to their commissioned nature. Hence, most of them do not reflect a corpus of scholarly knowledge (or a scholarly point of view) produced on the subject of higher education studies, that is, thus do not originate from strictly a scholastic *interest*[7].

The Association for Development Education in Africa (ADEA); the Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education (NUFFIC), and the United Nation, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) are among the international sponsors of the few analyses of higher education in Mozambique. This social, economic, political condition of production of educational knowledge in Mozambique dictates its policy driven tendency and predominance. It is helpful to now explore some of the implications of this condition.

2.3.1 A policy studies tendency and predominance

The policy tendency in the studies has implications. One is to reduce higher education to an 'instrument' for the accomplishment of a developmental agenda. Hence, and here lies the second implication of the 'instrumentalization', there is no time to look at higher education as a social institution itself that needs to be understood in its own terms as an object of study. The natures of the institutions that are committed to helping the development of higher education are mostly concerned with the link between higher education and the developmental agenda.

In the developing countries higher education is seen to play a key role in development and this is what these institutions put forward[8]. There is a tendency to forget that the link between higher education and development is neither necessary nor teleological.

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[7] In Bourdieuan terms of the distinction between academic and scholastic capital in the field of higher education, some of those who produced the studies that are mentioned possess 'academic *capital*' (institutional control over appointments funding, etc) and not '*scholastic capital*' (scientific prestige and intellectual renown) in the subject area of higher education studies. Their daily research interests or academic activities are not with higher education as an object of study. This is not a judgment on the quality of the studies; it is simply a statement of fact. See also: Bourdieu (1998), chapter six on scholastic point of view.

[8] See for example: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2000) Higher Education in Developing Countries: The task force on higher education and society. The World Bank, Washington, D.C.

The fact that most of the studies are not strictly scholarly based can not be one of the causes for a lack of concern with theoretical and methodological issues scrutinized by Mário et al., (2002) in the educational analysis review. This may have contributed moreover to a lower level of theorization of higher education studies in the country.

2.3.2 Bourdieu in the Mozambican context

To recap, the purpose of this study is to embark on an exploratory analysis of a working hypothesis. The hypothesis is that as a consequence of the expansion and diversification process in Mozambican higher education in the last two decades there might be enough reason to surmise a constitutive feature of the field of higher education institutions in Mozambique. If that would be the case, then the field may have started to produce its effects and develop general properties. To ascertain the plausibility of this hypothesis, by searching for empirical evidence of that assumption, is the intention of this study.

However, this study also pays attention to a theoretical debate. The debate is on the trans-cultural transferability of Bourdieu's framework. According to Robbins (2004: 416) Bourdieu was himself interested in the relations between particular and universal explanations in social science, and in many of his articles he focused specifically on the question of the transferability of his concepts, such as cultural capital. As Calhoun suggests, the issue of how to understand differences in societal types, epochs, civilizations, or cultures by mean of using theoretical frameworks by authors, such as Bourdieu is central to my interest. Thus, my concern is whether we should understand Bourdieu's analytic apparatus – his conceptual tools like field, habitus and capital – as applying universally, without modification, or as 'situationally' specific (Calhoun, 1993:66).

There is space for a contribution to this debate by postulating that Bourdieu did not take clear positions on whether his project intended producing 'trans-cultural invariants' or locally situated interpretations of structures in a historical period. Thus, my intention is to take the Mozambican context as an empirical site to test some of the Bourdieu theoretical concepts, by undertaking an analysis of the field of higher education in Mozambique in its particular and constitutive features.

In Bourdieuan terms I would say that the study is an attempt to analyse the genesis and structure of the Mozambican 'field' of higher education institutions. In other words, I expect to understand what makes a configuration of different higher education institutions produce and reproduce a 'field effect' and operate as a field. Therefore, it is crucial along with other methodological procedures to study the relations of power among the social agents – here, taken as the higher education institutions – in order to construct a social topology or map of the hierarchical structure of the field. The social typology of positions may reveal something about the dispositions (habitus) of the agents and for their position-takings in the competition for specific forms of capital valued in the field. These latter aims are not pursued in this dissertation.

2.4 Summary of chapter

In framing the problem pursued in this study, I started off briefly sketching the global trend of the expansion and diversification of higher education institutions. The interpretative framework of Trow (1999; 2000) and Scott (1995; 1998) illuminates my account of expansion. I proposed that a thick analysis of the implications of that global trend be attempted to capture the subtleties which characterize the particularity of Mozambique.

In the chapter I also attempted to summarise the major historical developments in Mozambican higher education over the past thirty years, providing a brief sketch of three phases of its development from the establishment of the first institution in 1962 until the 'mushrooming' stage of a variety of such institutions in the country. I show that the terrain changed dramatically and that the number of institutions evolved to 23 in 2006, producing a variety of sub-types (public/private, religious/secular, universities/ polytechnics and technological institutes).

I discussed the policy tendency in the studies of higher education in Mozambique and suggested that the predisposition may be responsible for the lack of theorization in Mozambican higher education studies. In conclusion, I suggest a different approach to study higher education in Mozambique an approach based on Bourdieu's theory of field and capital.

The next chapter makes explicit how Bourdieu's framework can be useful to understand the particular features of the expansion and diversification phenomenon in Mozambique.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and conceptual framework

3. Introduction

This chapter explores the interpretative framework that has been adopted in this research, derived from Bourdieu's theory of social fields. This will lead to the central research question, namely, whether the expansion and diversification of higher education institutions have led to the constitution of a field of higher education in the country. I offer now a brief overview of Bourdieu's theory of field and capital, as it applies to higher education.

3.1 Using Bourdieu to explore expansion and diversification

This research has an underlying objective, in contrast to the current approaches to a Mozambican higher education (Mário et al., 2003; Brito 2003; Brito et al., 2005), of suggesting, by using Bourdieu's framework, that higher education can be seen as a social institution. Thus, the purpose is to represent Mozambican higher education as a field of study in its own right. Therefore, the study is not in the first instance a policy-oriented study. It is a study with an end in itself, in the same way that 'disinterested' scholars seek for truth for its own sake rather than for extrinsic reward (Moore, 2004). In Bourdieuian terms, I intend to engage in a particular form of '*illusio*', namely that of scientific interest, an interest which, in relation to other concurrent forms of interest in our everyday lives, is seen as disinterested. It is an interest in the interest of disinterest (Bourdieu, 2003).

The research draws on Bourdieu's social field theory, as mentioned above, and briefly outlines the fundamental concepts drawn from field theory to be used. The concepts of field and capital form the central and fundamental analytical research tools. The two concepts constitute, together with the concept of habitus, a triad in Bourdieu's theoretical framework and form the keystone of his relational sociology.

I begin with the concept of capital. For Bourdieu, capital is "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrues to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance

and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:119). This research acknowledges the three fundamental forms of capital, those that are likely to be at stake in every field, namely economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, and identifies the specific forms of capital which seem to be more related to higher education (scientific capital in its two species: scholarly capital i.e. scientific prestige and intellectual renown and academic capital i.e. institutional control over appointments, funding etc) (Bourdieu, 2003a:35/42; Maton, 2005:690). The intention of this research is to identity and differentiate higher education institutions according to the amount of sources or forms of capital (material and symbolic assets) they possess.

The development of the concept of field is outlined to present the constellation of Mozambican higher education institutions as a field, consequently, consisting of cognitive and structural mechanism that mediate socio-political and socio-economic forces while simultaneously reproducing fundamental principles of stratification (Naidoo, 2004:457). According to Bourdieu, social formations are structured around a complex ensemble of social fields in which various forms of power circulate. The relative autonomy of fields varies from one period to another and from one national tradition to another (Bourdieu, 1993 as cited in Naidoo, 2004:458).

Bourdieu offers a kind of general theory of fields. He posits three states of any field. The first phase is for the conquest of autonomy, which he considers as the critical phase in the emergence of the field. The second phase is the emergence of dualistic structure and the third phase is the market of symbolic goods (Bourdieu, 1996a).

The first phase, the conquest of autonomy, is of particular importance in the constitution of a field. According to Bourdieu the relative autonomy of higher education means the structure of the field as a whole serves as a crucial mediating context which, 'like a prism', refracts external influences according to the specific logic of the field (Bourdieu, 1993:164).

Hence, the intellectual field of university education is conceptualized as a field with a higher degree of autonomy than that of many other fields in that it generates its own values and behavioural imperatives that are relatively independent from forces emerging from the economic and political fields.

Bourdieu conceptualised field as a social space structured hierarchically in the sense that agents and institutions occupy dominant and subordinate positions. These positions depend on the amount of specific resources (capital) that are possessed in relation to other positions.

In the empirical work carried out in Mozambique for this study I focus my attention on Bourdieu's remark which considers that, 'it is one and the same thing to determine what the field is, where its limits lie ... and to determine what species of capital are active in it, within what limits, and so on' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:99).

Fields present themselves synchronically as structured spaces of positions whose properties depend on their position within those spaces and can be analysed independently of the characteristics of their occupants (which are partly determined by them) (Bourdieu, 1993:72). Thus, I argue that the field of higher education is the constellation of positions comprising agents, which can be individuals, group of actors or institutions struggling to maximize their position.

The social world is made up of different fields. Fields as different as the field of politics; the field of philosophy or the field of religion have their own specific laws of functioning. I am proposing to ascertain in this study whether there are reasonable arguments to infer that particular features are driving the constellation of Mozambican higher education institutions to function as a field. As suggested by Bourdieu (1991a; 1991b; 1993; 1993a), studies in a new field reveal specific properties that are peculiar to that field, at the same time advancing knowledge of the universal mechanisms of fields, which are specified in terms of secondary variables.

Finally I refer to the concept of habitus, which is not central in this study. Habitus is defined as a 'system of dispositions to a certain practice, and thus for the regularity of modes of practice, and if practices can be predicted ... this is because the effect of the habitus is that agents who are equipped with it will behave in a particular way (Bourdieu, 1990b:77, cited in Reay, 2004:443).

Although the concept of habitus is at the heart of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, in this study I did not account for the dispositions (habitus) of the institutions or their

occupants because attention was given to the constitutional aspects (genesis and structure) of the field, and not the dispositions and pre-dispositions of agents and institutions. I made this decision given that most of the higher education institutions are 'new-comers' into the field and I assume that most are still in the early stages of constituting their institutional habitus[9].

3.2 A conceptual frame work for the study

3.2.1 The concept of field of higher education institutions

As previously stated, the concept of field is central in Bourdieu's relational sociology. This section makes explicit the connotation I give to the concept of field of higher education institutions in Mozambique. Drawing from Bourdieu (1996:132) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:97-99) on the general notion of social field, I define field of higher education institutions as a structured space of positions – occupied by higher education institutions – the nature of which defines the situation for their occupants. It is furthermore a space of forces, which exists between these positions, and it is structured internally in terms of power relations. Positions are set in relation of domination, subordination or equivalence to each other by virtue of the access they afford to the material or symbolic resources (capital), which are at stake (dispute) in the field. The nature of their positions is to be found in their relationship to the relevant forms of capital.

The positions and power relations defined by the forms of capital that accrue to those institutions yield field the specific stakes. The existence of a field presupposes and creates a belief in the capital at stake in the field. Struggles over these legitimate stakes may be expected, directed at securing or improving the position of an institution or clusters of institutions, or they may well entail more general ambitions of maintaining or transforming the distribution of positions within the social space or field.

[9] For a critical approach to the concept of habitus see Reay (2004), see also Jenkins (2002) for a critical account of Bourdieu's theory of field.

3.2.2 The concept of capital

> "It is impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in one form recognized by economic theory" (Bourdieu, 1986:242).

Research in this section draws from Bourdieu's (1986) theory of forms of capital to explicate the way I use the notion of capital. The concept of capital is one of Bourdieu's major contributions to the study of the social world and the way in which social agents, individuals, and institutions occupy unequal positions according to the possession of capital.

According to Moore (2004:446) Bourdieu is recognized for his attempt to move beyond the association of capital with a narrowly defined economic category of monetary exchange for profit, what he named 'mercantile exchange'. In the case of the latter, the association between capital and profit is explicit and such exchange is thoroughly instrumental in character. Bourdieu attempted to expand the category of capital as something more than just the economic and to identify culture as a form of that more general category. He includes social capital alongside cultural capital and speaks also, more specifically, of linguistic capital and, more generally, of symbolic capital.

What these forms share, says Moore (2004), despite differing in other respects, is that each requires and is the product of an investment of an appropriate kind and each can secure a return of that investment. For instance, in the case of cultural capital the major institutional form of investment is in formal education measured by quality and duration. In the case of social capital the investment is an appropriate form of sociability that entails reciprocal obligations. It is a kind of capital embedded in social networks and membership is the key to participation and enjoyment of its benefits.

Finally, "the mercantile form represents the basic characteristics of capital in their most visible aspect, but these are still present in cultural and social capital even though their values of aesthetic and of altruism formally deny their instrumentalism" (Moore, 2004: 446).

This research operationally defines the three general forms of capital, namely cultural, economic, and social capital, in their relation to the field of higher education institutions in general and the scientific form as the specific form which operates in the academic sub-field.

My research proposes to identify operational indicators for each form of capital. Those indicators will allow the measurement of the amount of capital possessed by higher education institution. Thus, it should be possible to place the institutions in a social space of relative positions according to the quantum accumulated differentially for each form of capital.

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied state*, a form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, a form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques, problematics, etc and in the *institutionalised* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of education qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu, 1986:244).

It is the institutionalised and objectified forms that will be operationalised here. The embodied form will not be considered because it entails the analysis of habitus which, as explained before, is not relevant to this study. To operationalise these institutionalised objectified forms I first collected data of the academic staff credentials: Bachelor (BA), Bachelor honours (BA Hons), Master's (MA/ Msc) and Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degrees. Secondly I collected data on the specific form of cultural capital the objectified form measured by publications. Thirdly, the academic events were also included as a particular form of what Bourdieu (2003) considered scientific capital of the institutions.

In chapter 4, I dedicate more attention to explicating the procedures of data collection and the indicators used in this study.

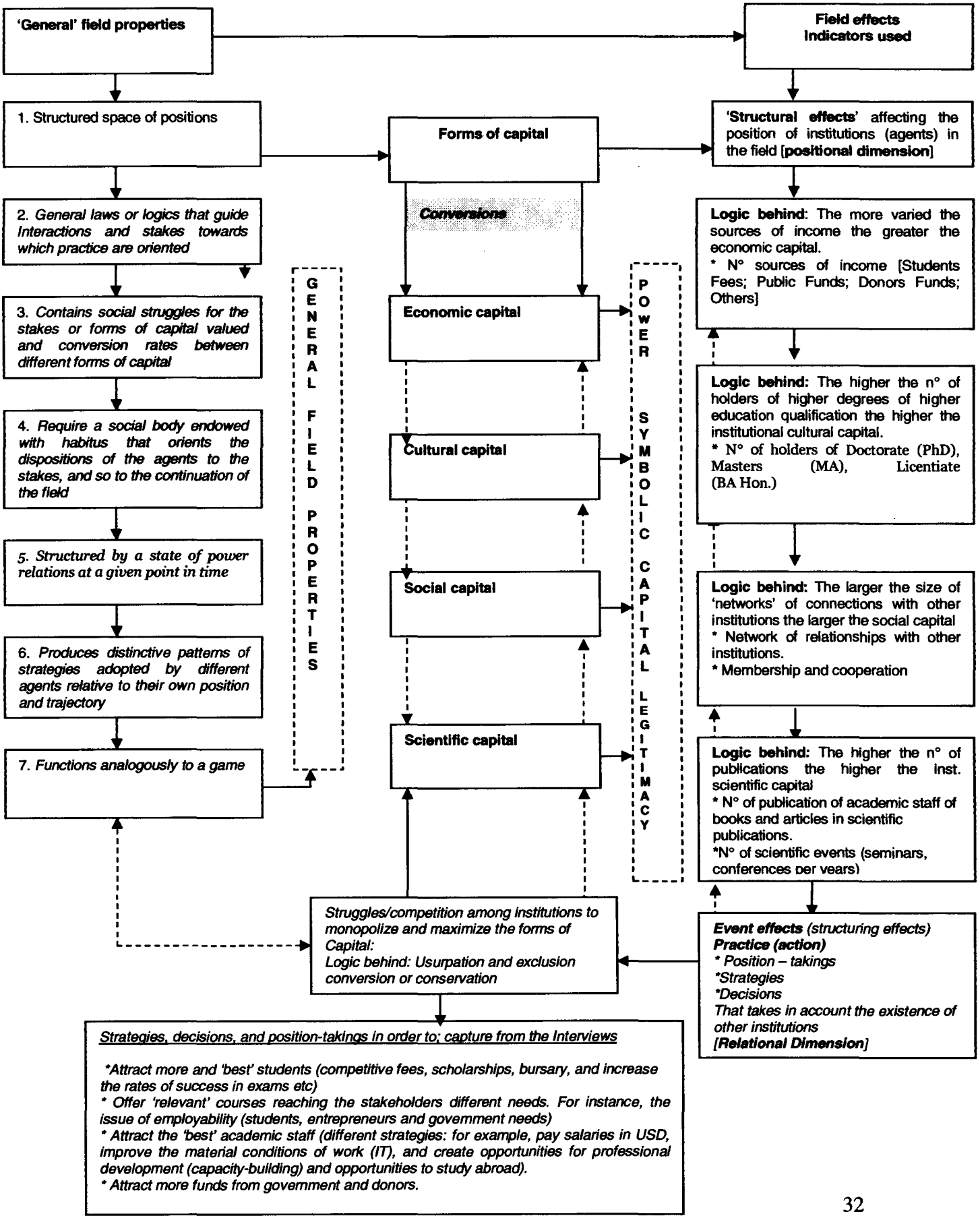
3.3 Analytical framework

This section explicates the analytical framework used in this research. Figure 2 summarizes various elements of the field properties derived from Bourdieu's framework and describes how they relate to the concepts of capital and their interrelation. The model presented is a theoretical model, which helps to envisage the possible dimensions of a field. It is not an empirical model of what one expects to find in each instance. I did not explore all the properties presented in the model.

As an exploratory study, I limited the research scope to the effectiveness of the first property, that is, the structure of positions of Mozambican higher education institution in the field. Ideally, other properties should be included in order to illustrate the functionality and visibility of all properties in the field. The same is valid in the case of the three rectangles in the bottom of the model and all the categories in *italics*. I constructed the model drawing from different sources (Bourdieu, 1991a; 1993; Rawolle, 2005, Lingard, Taylor and Rawolle, 2005), where the field properties are explicitly presented. For instance Bourdieu (1993) presents a number of properties, which he considers as general properties that can be found in almost every field. In the scheme which I constructed those are numbered properties from 1 to 7 in the left hand columns. Every field to be considered as such is expected to have at least some if not all these properties (see figure 2).

As Rawolle (2005:708) noted, Bourdieu rarely evoked these properties as necessary and sufficient conditions for a given field. He argues that in Bourdieu's work it is difficult to determine which of the properties have priority in providing evidence for the operation of a field.

Figure 2: Analytical framework
Source: constructed for the research



The actual study of the field, or of the existence or not of some of these properties in the Mozambican context, will determine whether we can properly regard it as field or not. The middle column depicts the forms of economic capital, cultural, scientific, and social, that were discussed previously in this chapter. These forms of capital show the interrelation and connection among them as well as the conversion possibilities from one form to another. It is not my intention to explore the conversion from one form to another form of capital. The order of capital that is presented is not an assumption of the real position or value each form of capital is occupying in the model.

According to Bourdieu (1986:248) "by conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession). Furthermore, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital".

In the model all forms of capital represented lead to symbolic capital, that is, a form of capital always specific and local that happens to be legitimated or prestigious in a particular field (Bourdieu, 1990:134). The right hand columns list the operational indicators of the different form of capital measured in the study. Inside the rectangles I formulate the assumptions or logic behind the measurement of the variables. For instance, cultural capital is operationalised as academic qualifications. The assumption made is that the greater the number of academic staff holding a highly qualified degree (BA Hons. MA and PhD) the greater would be the institutional cultural capital. In the methodology chapter as well as in the data analysis chapter I explicate the criterion used for all forms of capital by creating capital indexes (e.g. cultural capital index) for the variables.

3.4 Summary of chapter

The main purpose of this chapter was to elucidate the theoretical perspective used to account for the implications of expansion and diversification of higher education institutions in Mozambique. In justifying my perspective, I explored Bourdieu's theoretical framework informed by the conceptual triad of *field, capital,* and *habitus.*

My research argues for a particular way in which Bourdieu's concepts can illuminate in many aspects the ways in which we can understand the consequences of expansion and diversification of higher education in particular contexts.

The concepts of field and capital are the main theoretical and conceptual tools used in the study. Field is defined as a social space structured hierarchically in the sense that agents and institutions occupy dominant and subordinate positions. These positions depend on the amount of specific resources (capital) possessed in relation to other positions. Capital is defined as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrues to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119).

The field of higher education institutions in Mozambique is defined as a structured space of positions – occupied by higher education institutions – the nature of which defines the situation for their occupants. To establish the positions of each institution a research project was constructed to measure the cultural, scientific economic and social possessed by each institutions. The analytical framework discussed in this chapter helps to give a broad idea of the general constitutive elements of a field. Hence, it also helps to surmise the pathway to establish the structure of position in the field of higher education in Mozambique and to ascertain whether there is a field of functioning with all its properties.

Chapter 4: Research design and methodology

4. Introduction

"Theory without evidence is a fatuous self-indulgence", Brandon (1986:15)

This chapter sets out the methodology of the study, that is, the epistemic and methodological principles behind the construction of the object of the study and the methods used for its examination. The selection of the samples and the issues of validity and reliability are also discussed as part of the research design.

4.1 Restating the problem: the research question

The problem of this study, which is the problem-context from which the research question arose, draws from the observations of two issues that are closely related. The first issue is the rapid expansion and diversification of higher education institutions in Mozambique. The second is the existing studies in higher education, which attempted to account for this phenomenon. The combination of the two issues, the rapid expansion of higher education institutions from the middle of the 1990s and the explanation of the expansion and diversification are regarded as central rationale for the study. My research approaches the problem from a theoretical point of view, and considers the explanations other studies provided in terms of implication of the expansion and diversification of higher education in Mozambique to be restricted.

Some researchers that have attempted to account for the problem in different studies acknowledged the expansion and diversification phenomenon. For instance, Mário et al., (2003); Utui and Fry, (1999); Brito, (2003); Brito et al., (2005); Enamark, (2005) all have noted the emergence of new higher education service suppliers, particularly private institutions of higher education in Mozambique. Mário et al., (2003), describe how, despite the setbacks caused by decades of destabilizing civil war which lasted almost sixteen years after the independence of Mozambique in 1975, the higher education sector expanded significantly.

During the period of the civil war and economic decline, the higher education sector expanded. Two new governmental higher education institutions the Higher

Pedagogical Institute (ISP) and the Higher Institute for International Relations (ISRI), joined Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM). The end of the war and the socialist period heralded the inauguration of five non-governmental, the Higher Polytechnic and University Institute (ISPU), the Higher Institute of Sciences and Technology of Mozambique (ISCTEM), the Higher Institute of Transport and Communications (ISUTC), the Catholic University of Mozambique (UCM) and the Mussa bin Bik Islamic University (UMBB). Two new governmental institutions of higher education came into being during this period further the Nautical School of Mozambique (ENM) and the Police Academy (ACIPOL).

Indeed, even in terms of policy, the new law on higher education in Mozambique states clearly the need for "proceeding with the alteration of Law nº 1/1993, of 24 June – law on higher education – in order to adjust its content to higher education development in Mozambique and the emergence of new higher education institutions"(MESCT, 2003: 01). MESCT was established in 1994 by the government of Mozambique to coordinate and regulate the sector, which comprised 15 universities (seven publicly and eight privately run) spread all over the country (Brito, 2003; Brito et al., 2005; Mário et al., 2003; Utui, and Fry, 1999).

The new diversity in higher education institutions represents not only a new complexity, but also the rise of new dynamics in the power relation among these different higher education institutions. Without criticising their results, my suggestion is that, the studies that attempted to account for the process of expansion of higher education in Mozambique, mostly fail to capture the relational dimension and the dynamics of the process of expansion and diversification.

These previous studies are limited to a historical description based on statistics of the evolving sector, lacking a theoretical and methodological framework to understand some of the sociological dimensions of the evolution process. It is one thing to statistically describe the evolution of the higher education sector, but and it is another to account for the driving forces and the underlying logic. It is the latter that is lacking in current higher education studies on Mozambique. One can surmise the reason for the neglect of a theoretical approach to the studies on the higher educational sector in

the country as mentioned previously, being related to their commissioned and policy nature[10]; hence to their practical or utilitarian rationale.

This observation could be said to apply to the majority of studies of the higher education sector in Mozambique. As noted in a review, few reports contain a section where the methodology of the study is presented and defended. "The absence, in many cases, of a methodology section, makes it difficult to judge the internal quality of the studies" (Mário et al., 2002: 23).

These issues, namely, the empirical observation of the expansion of the sector of higher education in Mozambique as well as the theoretical and methodological shortcomings in accounting for that process justifies this current study of the implications of the expansion and diversification drawing from an appropriate theoretical approach. For reasons that I have explained in the previous chapters, Bourdieu's theoretical framework, particularly in his theory of social fields and capital have been an appealing tool to employ on a sociological analysis of higher education institutions in Mozambique.

4.1.1 Research questions and hypothesis

This research aims to investigate the following two questions:

- What are the positions occupied by the different higher education institutions in the social space on the basis of differential possession of material and symbolic assets (capital)?
- Does the constellation of higher education institutions operate as a field?

My hypothesis is that a very specific constellation in higher education in the mid 90s led to forms of interaction, which resembled those identified by Bourdieu as typical of a field. To be specific, I surmise that the constellation of higher education institutions in Mozambique have begun to produce a field of magnetic effects as a consequence of

[10] None of the studies on higher education departed from a scholarly or academic interest of 'knowledge for the sake of knowledge' as it would be suggested by Bourdieu (1991) in his interesting remarks on the possibility of a field of World Sociology. See also Bourdieu (1998). On the possibility of a disinterested act. See also Bourdieu (2003a) and Moore (2005).

conceptual construction to rupture with ordinary perception. This is a vision that I seek to apply in this research.

For instance, I share the vision that "the statistical measurement, logical and lexicological critique, the genealogy of concepts and problematics are three choice instruments for effecting the necessary break with 'spontaneous sociology' and for actualising the 'principle of non - consciousness,' according to which the cause of the phenomena is to be found, not in the consciousness of individuals, but in the system of objective relations in which they are enmeshed" (ibid).

A further epistemic and methodological posture which I adopt is the one which considers, for the construction of the object, three closely related principles: a) methodological pluralism, b) equal epistemic attention to all operations and c) methodological reflexivity. My goal is attempt to do justice to these principles while attempting to explicate the process of construction of the object of this study.

The first principle, methodological pluralism, implies that the study privileges a mixture of methods. In other words, "to deploy whatever procedure of observation and verification is best suited to the question at hand and continually confront results yielded by different methods" (Wacquant, 1998: 04). For instance, statistical data, documentary data and field interviews will provide different means to generate data.

The second principle advocates 'an organic relation between theory and method' which grants an 'equal epistemic attention to all operations' (Wacquant, 1998: 04). Thirdly, methodological reflexivity is the posture of "relentless self-questioning of method in every moment it is implemented" (ibid). To some extent these three Bourdieuan principles have been combined throughout my research.

4.2 Research design of an exploratory study

This research aims to be an exploratory study, and the design is crafted accordingly. The major aim of exploratory studies is to gain familiarity with the topic, or to provide a basic explanation for the phenomenon in study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:79)

As an exploratory study its ambitions are modest, and intends to:

- Identify the basic facts and features of the expansion and diversification in Mozambican higher education;
- Develop an exploration of theoretical framework that can be suitable to understanding the implications of the expansion and diversification of higher education in Mozambique;
- Supply more methodological insights into the subject;
- Originate conceptualisation about the subject; and
- Make assessment about future research on the area.

However, according to Garbers (1996:287) a research project is never solely explanatory, exploratory, or descriptive and this one attempts more than a basic exploration.

4.2.1 Constructing the object

According to Bourdieu (1996:232), constructing the space of higher education institutions means, constructing the system of criterion that could account for the set of meaningful and significant differences that objectively separate these establishments or enable a set of relevant differences among these institutions to arise.

The study examines differences in terms of possession of capital (cultural, scientific, economic and social) as the main criterion to differentiate institutions and their positions. The following section illustrates the procedures followed in the study to gather information and recontextualise it in order to construct the space of positions.

4.2.2 Data collection: sampling and instruments of observation

The intention of the study was to use statistical data in order to produce objective index amenable to comparison and generalisation. I decided to work with the key category of academic staff as a variable to establish differences in terms of cultural capital among higher education institutions using academic staff qualification for two main reasons.

The first reason is related to the fact that Bourdieu (1986:248) considers academic qualification as a form of objectification of cultural capital. The second reason for using this qualification is because it was possible to produce comparable data between higher education institutions.

4.2.3 Cultural capital indicators

As mentioned before, cultural capital is the main variable used in this study to differentiate higher education institutions. According to Bourdieu (1986: 248), by conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, in this case higher education institutions, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession).

In addition, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital. However, in this study I will not make conversions from one type of capital to another. The institutional credentials such as the Bachelor (BA), Bachelor Honours (BA Hons.) Masters (MA) and Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) are the main indicators used to collect data on cultural capital.

Bourdieu (1986), as well as other researchers, suggests academic qualification as an appropriate operational indicator for measuring cultural capital. Bourdieu uses the analogy of a game of roulette in his operationalisation of capitals. He considers those individuals with lots of red tokens and a few yellow tokens, that is lots of economic capital and a little cultural capital, will not play in the same way as those who have many yellow tokens and a few red ones the more yellow tokens - cultural capital - they have, the more they will stake on the yellow squares the educational system (Bourdieu 1993:34)

Other researchers have developed their own way of analysing capital. For instance, Shilling (2004: 474) refers to educational qualification as an initial screening device or a form of capital that can be converted into other assets. Moore (2004: 446) also

refers to formal education as the major institutional form of investment measured by quality and duration.

Naidoo (2004:458) says that the type of capital operating in the field of university education is an institutionalised form of cultural capital that has generally been termed academic capital. Academic capital is a form of institutionalised capital based on prior education achievement.

Siisiainen (2000), following the same trend, considers three forms of existence of cultural capital. The first is incorporated in the habitus, and is to a large extent created through primary pedagogy, that is, early childhood; secondly, cultural capital is "objectified in cultural articles; and thirdly, it also exists in cultural institutions and is expressed in terms of certificates, diplomas and examinations" (Siisiainen, 2000: 11). All these operationalisations of cultural capital consider academic credentials such as diplomas, certificates, and examinations as an indicator for the institutionalised form of cultural capital.

This study attempts to amplify the use of the operational concept and apply it to a concrete site of higher education institutions in Mozambique. In the analysis chapter I give detail on the indexes, constructed for each form of capital. For instance, the cultural capital index gives different weights to each academic qualification making it possible to calculate the amount of cultural capital possessed by an individual institution.

4.2.4 Scientific capital indicators

The main indicator of scientific capital used here was academic staff position, publications and participation in academic events. Academic position is a hierarchical structure based on professional development to which an individual can be promoted as a result of progression in the academic career.

According to Maton (2004:690) Bourdieu described the French higher education field as principally structured by an opposition between agents possessing 'scholastic

capital' – scientific prestige and intellectual renown – and 'academic capital' – institutional control over appointments, funding.

Based on that distinction, I decided to collect data on scientific capital in its academic form. The academic position to which the academic staff can be promoted starts from probationary lecturer and proceeds to assistant lecturer, auxiliary professor, associate professor up to full professor (UEM, 2000:09).

I adopted the model of career development from the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM, 2000). The choice is justifiable based on the relatively long experience of UEM in implementing this model of career development for its staff. In addition, most institutions tend to follow the same model that has been implemented by UEM.

Data on academic staff position for the year 2003 was collected by using tables, which I gave to the institutions to complete with the information (see Appendix 1). Private higher education institutions were not considered for this category because they do not have yet a system of academic position based on a model of career development.

Collected data on the number of probationary lectures, assistant lectures, auxiliary professor and full professor for each higher education institution in 2003 was part of my research as well as on the number of books and articles published nationally and internationally by the academic staff of each higher education institution in that same year.

Finally, data was collected on the number of academic events attended by the academic staff of each higher education institution nationally and internationally in 2003, which completed the data that I used to construct the scientific capital index, discussed in chapter 5.

4.2.5 Economic capital indicators

The category of variety of income sources was used to differentiate higher education in terms of economic capital. Four categories of sources of income were taken into consideration, namely student's fees, public funds, donor's funds and the aggregate category of other sources. I decided to start with these four indicators as an exploratory attempt to produce data on economic capital of higher education institutions in Mozambique.

I approached all the institution in the study to provide information on these variables for the year 2003. Most institutions had serious difficulties in providing information on the monetary amount that they have earned from a specific source in 2003. With the exception of UEM, higher education institutions struggled to provide financial reports in which the different sources of income are particularly specified.

With great effort, I was able to get information on the percentages of income from each of the four sources stated before. The data allowed me to construct an economic capital index based on the percentage of income from each source for each institution (see Appendix 1 Table 4). The analysis in chapter 5 gives more details on this issue.

The appendix table 5 depicts the data on academic staff salary scale. Salary scale was another indicator which I initially wanted to use to measure the economic capital of higher education institutions. I asked all the institutions to provide information on the salaries of academic staff for the academic year of 2003.

The salary sheets would be an appropriate source of information. In the case of the public institutions the government establishes the salary for each academic staff position. Hence, staff with the same academic position in any of the public higher education would receive the same salary (see Appendix 1 Table 5). As a consequence it would not be possible to differentiate institutions by using only the basic salary scale of the academic staff among the public institutions. The subsidies each institution gives to their staff could have added on, but most institutions could not provide that information.

In the private institutions the situation was different. Private institutions pay salaries according to the number of lecturing hours each lecturer spend in the classroom with the students, the number of exams given to students, and the number of extra-time lecture (see Appendix 1 Table 5). However, in the course of the research I decided on disregarding the salary scale due to inconsistencies in the data. The data would not allow a meaningful measurement of economic capital in a manner that would allow significant comparison between institutions.

Some of the inconsistencies were due to some institutions not releasing the salary maps for the year 2003. Besides, formally the public institutions use the same base salary scale stipulated by the government according to the academic position (see Appendix 1 Table 5). This being the case, one would have to collect lowly based data for the public institutions for the sake of comparison. This information was not available. The only information most private institutions were able to provide was the base salary amount in dollars or Meticais[11] for the years 2003. That data itself is not sufficient to infer on the average amount for each category of academic staff. Hence, it is not possible to construct a variable scale of capital from this data.

4.2.6 Social capital indicators

The appendix 1 table 6 depicts the data that was actually collected for the variable social capital in this study. Social capital is regarded by Bourdieu (1986: 249) as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity - owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

Three indicators of social capital are used: number of agreements each higher education institution has with other academic institutions signed in 2003; number of affiliations each higher education institution has with a scientific organization; and the

[11] Metical is the currency of Mozambique. The exchange rate average in the year 2003 was $1 = 23,340.88, Bank of Mozambique.

number of affiliations and amount of cooperation with non-academic organizations (see Appendix 1 Table 6).

This study suggests that the volume of the social capital possessed by a given institution depends on the size of the network of connections the institution can effectively mobilize. Having discussed the principal indicators used to collect the main statistical data, I now turn to elucidate the sampling procedures used in the study.

4.3 Sample selection

The initial aim of the study was to research the entire spectrum of higher education institutions operating in Mozambique, but I soon realised that delimitation would have to be made due to data non-availability. Only eleven institutions (five public and six private) were able to provide comparable and reliable data up to the year 2003. The others had begun to operate in the year 2003 or in some cases 2004, thus were not able to provide information for the study (see Appendix 2).

Another reason to base the comparison on the year 2003 was the data from the MESCT on statistics of higher education institutions that year. The data of MESCT did not cover all the variables; it did however provide a base for comparison assessing the consistency and accuracy of the data provided by the institutions. I had to exclude some institutions that were legally operating but had not started to operate in full; thus, there was no available data on some variables like full-time academic staff.

The Higher Institute for Heath Science (ISCISA), the Military Academy (AM), for instance, though they existed as legal entities in 2003, only started to operate in full in 2005. Ultimately, the sample that was finalised for the study included data from the public higher education institutions ACIPOL, ISRI, UEM, UP and EN and the private higher education institutions ISCTEM, ISPU, ISUTC, UCM, UDM, and UMMB.

4.3.1 Collecting statistical data

The statistical data was collected in three regions of Mozambique: in Maputo, the capital city located in Southern Mozambique; in Beira, the second biggest city in the country, located in the Central Province of Sofala; and Nampula in the Northern Province, the third biggest city in the country. The criterion for choosing these cities were the location of higher education institutions selected for the study. The public institutions of ACIPOL, EN, ISRI, UEM and UP as well as the private ISCTEM, ISPU, ISUTC, UDM are all located in Maputo. The UCM is in Beira and UMMB in Nampula.

The fieldwork was undertaken in Mozambique during two months (May and June 2006) and consisted of visiting all the institutions under study to collect statistical information. As mentioned previously, the institutions were selected according to their functioning operation in the year 2003 as the comparative year because it is the year in which a systematic statistical database of all institutions in the country was developed by the MESCT. The data was, then, collected in eleven higher education institutions. Five of them were public institution and six private. This is just less than half of the total number of higher education institutions in the country, which is 23 (see Appendix 2).

4.3.2 Instruments for data collection

Statistical data

All the institutions were asked to complete tables to complete with statistical information according to the category of indicators selected for the study. The tables were conceived to gather information on variables such as number of academic staff in public and private institutions holding BA, BA Hons. MA and PhD degrees. Table 1 contains data on the variable of cultural capital of higher education institutions in the year 2003, data of full-time academic staff of public and private higher education institutions, and data of part-time academic staff of public and private higher education institutions (see Appendix 1).

Table 2 is designed for the variable scientific capital and includes data on academic staff positions of higher education institutions in the year 2003. For public institutions I collected data on numbers of probationary lecturers, assistant professors, auxiliary professors, associate professors and full professors. The data refers to both full-time and part-time academic staff. For reasons stated before, I did not collect data on academic staff position in the private institutions (see Appendix 1).

Table 3 also contain data on scientific capital of higher education institutions in the year 2003. This data, however, refers to scientific publication and academic events. I collected data on the number of books and articles of academic staff published and registered at the institution inventory of books published in 2003. The publication is divided in two categories of national and international publications. I also collected data on the number of academic events, namely the number of conference and seminars/workshops attended by academic staff in the year 2003. Two categories of events were also considered, national and international events (see Appendix 1).

Table 4 contains data on economic capital of higher education institutions in the year 2003. Economic capital was measured by variety of income sources. I selected four sources, namely students' fees, public funds, donations, and the others as an aggregate variable. The data was collected in these four categories both in public and private institutions.

Table 5 also contains data on economic capital of higher education institutions in 2003. This time, however, it is measured by salary staff scale. It is obvious there are some gaps of missing information in the table, as explained before. It is the inconsistence of the data, which does not allow a reliable comparison, which determined the disregarding of that information in the analysis of the distribution of economic capital among higher education institutions in 2003.

Table 6 shows data on social capital of higher education institutions in 2003. The number of agreements, number of affiliation in academic organizations, and number of affiliation in non - academic organizations is the data that was collected to measure social capital. The data was collected both from public and private higher education

institutions. It distinguishes between national and international agreements and affiliation of higher education institutions.

I now turn to summarise in a table the operationalisation of variables. The table of operationalization of the variables of the study establishes a system of criterion followed to collect statistical data and bring together all the information/data that was essential for revealing the structure of positions and oppositions among the institutions.

In this table the dynamic dimension was not considered for analysis. It is a dimension of a field in which the field is thoroughly functioning, and which considers the position - taking, the strategies of agents and so forth. These are aspects not being considered at this stage of the analysis. However, I found it useful to present the idea of how it would be if one would consider all the dimensions of field.

This table recalls briefly, by restating the nominal definition, some of the main concepts used in the study. The table also depicts the dimensions, components and indicators used to collect the data for the variables in the study. The academic degrees are brought together as an objectified and institutionalised form of capital, and this is not strange to the definition of cultural capital, because if we consider the diploma or certificate in its objectified form is considered an asset, which also symbolizes an institutionalised academic qualification.

Table 1: Operationalizing variables

Concepts: nominal definition	Dimension		Componcats	Indicator or principle of measurement
Social field: field as a social space structured hierarchically in the sense that agents and institutions occupy dominant and subordinate positions. These positions depend on the amount of specific resources (capital) that are possessed in relation to other occupants.	*a)* **Positional dimension**: Structured and structural effects affecting **the position** of institutions in the field. *b)* **Dynamic dimension**: structuring effects affecting the position-takings, strategies etc [*not considered in the study*]		The structure: i.e., the unequal distribution of capital is the source of specific effects of capital, i.e., the appropriation of profits and power to impose laws of functioning of the field most favorable to capital and its reproduction.	Scores of accumulated forms of capital
Capital: "is accumulated labour (in its materialised form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive basis by agents or group of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour" (Bourdieu, 1986:242). Capital in its objectified or embodied forms, takes time to accumulate and which, as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible (Ibid). Capital: can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital; as cultural capital; as social capital and it can take specific forms according to particular fields, scientific capital, academic capital etc.	**Cultural Capital**	Embodied state	Presents in a form of long lasting disposition of mind and body	• Not to be considered in this study
		Objectified state or Institutionalised state	Presents in a form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines etc) Presents in a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of education qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee	• N° of academic staff holding BA Hons., MA and PhD degrees.
	Scientific capital	Academic positions		• N° of probationary lecturers, N ° of assistant lecturers; N° of auxiliary professors, N° of associate professors; N° of full professor
		Publications and Events	National vs. International	• N° of book published national & Internationally; • N° of participation in academic events by academic staff

	Social Capital	Network of connections	National vs. International	• Membership by higher education institutions in academic organization • The volume of social capital possessed by given institution depends on the size of the network of connection measured by number of agreements; number of affiliation in scientific organizations and number of affiliation in non-scientific organizations
	Social Economic	Monetary and mercantile		• N°of source of funding into money • Percentage of funds earned from each income source

Source: constructed under this research (CONT. Table 1)

In-depth interviews

Three in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants. The interviews were not a key to the analysis I undertake on the distribution of capital among higher education institutions. Initially, I wanted to make the in-depth interviews a key instrument to produce data on position-takings, strategies institutions take in the field of higher education. The criterion to select the interviewees was their experience of working in higher education. Their appointment as members of the former commission which settled up the Strategic Plan for Higher Education in Mozambique (SPHEM) was also considered as a selection criterion. The commission was constituted of nine individuals because of the difficulties of arranging appointments I only managed to get three interviewees during my fieldwork in Mozambique.

These three interviews appear to be of a significant quality. Thus, instead of eliminating the interviews I decided to add an appendix where I discuss some fragments of the interviews. The intention is to provide a brief reflection on a way what I should be looking at in future research project. In the context of Mozambican higher education analysis the interviewees appear to be the most prominent analysts, as well as public policy makers and advisors in the Ministry of Education. Thus they supposedly hold a broad view and well - formed opinions on the functioning of the sector, which makes them appropriate for this exploratory stage of the research.

The interviews were all conducted in Portuguese, the official language of the country, and lasted an average of an hour each. The interviews were all transcribed and translated into English. In these in-depth interviews with the key informants the core aspect was to discover their analysis, category of analysis, scheme of classification, and assessment of the process of expansion, diversification and competition within the sector of higher education in Mozambique since 1990.

Ultimately, the supplementary appendix on the fragments on the interviews is not central to the analysis of the distribution of capital, but it shows the way forward for further research exploration on the dynamics of the field of higher education in Mozambique.

In summary, data sources of the study are:

- Statistics on academic qualifications (number of BA, BA. Hon. MA and PhD degrees) in higher education institutions in 2003.
- Statistics on staff academic qualification (number of probationary lectures, assistant lecturers, auxiliary professors, associate professors and full professors in higher education institutions in 2003)
- Statistics of MESCT (2003a) (number of BA, BA, Hon. MA and PhD degrees).
- Interviews with key informants (see Appendix 3).
- Contacts with people in higher education institutions (see Appendix 3).

4.4 Issues of validity and reliability

I now turn to make some remarks on issues of validity and reliability in this study. This section begins by introducing the difficulties experienced during the fieldwork. Generally to gain access to the data was the biggest challenge during data collection. The difficulties were particularly acute in the case of those institutions without an accurate institutional memory, that is, without the culture of keeping a statistical database. For example, it was common to find an institution without a list of teachers who taught in the previous year.

The situation of facing difficulties of getting information from higher education institutions is one that has been noted by other scholars and researchers. Chilundo (2004) noted some institutions refuse to release strategic information. This was the case during my research as well.

Data from MESCT was used, for reliability and validity purposes, to verify the consistency of the raw data gathered from the higher education institutions. From 2003 onwards MESCT started to produce statistical data based on indicators of number of students, number of academic staff and non-academic staff (management staff) of all functioning and operational higher education and research institutions (MESCT, 2003a).

Data in appendix 1 table 1 on the number of BA, BA Hons MA and PhD degrees was also gathered by MESCT in all higher education institutions that are part of this study. However, for other variables such as academic position MESCT data could not be regarded as a comparative source because that category was not considered in MESCT collection of information in higher education institutions.

Strategies to ensure reliability of the dada collection consisted of:

- Using standardised and structured instruments of data collection (see Appendix 1);
- personally controlling the accuracy of data provided by the higher education institutions;

- Piloting instruments previously (Mouton, 2001).

Strategies to ensure internal and external validity:

- Considering only comparable data for analysis;
- Avoiding discrepant and inconsistent data that could present a threat to soundness of analyse.
- Constructing indexes for analysing the distribution of cultural, scientific and economic capital;
- Using Bourdieu's conceptual framework to make sense of the interpretation of the distribution of capital among institutions;
- Taking into account other studies using the Bourdieu concepts of field and capital, for instance Naidoo, (2004); Moore (2004) and Maton, (2005).

4.5 Summary of chapter

The intention of this study is to conduct an exploratory analysis of the constitutional features of the field of higher education in Mozambique. In order to pursue that aim I constructed a research design and established a methodology of the study. I draw a research design to ensure that the position occupied by each institution in the space of capital is related, in terms of symbolic power, to the position occupied by other institution. Comparable statistical data was collected by using indicators to measure the different forms of capital. Ultimately, the statistical data on a number of variables, such number of BA Hons, MA and PhD degree collected in all institutions considered in this study leads to the construction of a hierarchical space of positions based on the distribution of capitals. Tables 1 to 6 in appendix 1 summarise the target variables for the study, data sources and instruments used in data collection.

Chapter 5: Data analysis and results

5. Introduction

As already stated, this study aims to ascertain whether or not the constellation of higher education institutions in Mozambique operates as a social field. For this purpose, I have set out to plot the positions of higher education institutions relative to the amount of different forms of capital they have accumulated. This is a fundamental step in establishing the existence of a field and uncovering the principles of differentiation among the constellation of higher education institutions in Mozambique.

In this chapter, I analyse the data of the year 2003 collected from eleven institutions during the empirical research conducted in Mozambique in 2006. In the first section, the distribution of cultural capital among these eleven institutions is considered. Academic qualifications of the staff are used as the indicators of measurement of cultural capital. In the second section, I follow the same procedures to analyse scientific capital in terms of academic position and publications. The third section focus on the analysis of economic capital by looking at the variety and the weight of income sources of the institutions. The fourth section is dedicated to the analysis of social capital measured by the institution's network of connections. Finally, in the fifth section of this chapter, I construct a two dimensional, graphically represented, space of capital.

Since Bourdieu sees the different forms of capital as forms of power, plotting a space of positions of higher education institutions in Mozambique is also a plotting of space of power. Therefore, by implication, an institution situated in a higher position in that space also occupies a dominant position in terms of the power over the other positions or institutions. An additional study would be necessary to establish how that power is exercised in the particular field of higher education in Mozambique. For the purposes of this research exercise, however, establishing the relative position in the field constitutes the object study.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:76) articulates the concept of a 'field of power' as a

> "field of forces defined by the structure of the existing balance of forces between forms of power, or between different species of capital. It is also simultaneously *a field of struggles for power among the holders of different forms of power.* It is a space of play and competition in which social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields [...] confront one another in strategies aimed at preserving or transforming this balance of forces" .

Ultimately, the position occupied by a higher education institution, in the constructed space of capital, is also a position of power. Here it is assumed that position, as it relates to domination, determines the nature of interaction between the institutions.

5.1 Analyzing cultural capital

5.1.1 Constructing a cultural capital index

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), cultural capital should be called *informational capital* to represent its full generality, which exists in three forms: embodied, objectified, or institutionalised. As previously mentioned, this study considers only the institutionalised form of cultural capital, that is, the informational assets in the form of knowledge and skills acquired through formal education. The first dimension of the cultural capital of higher education institutions is assessed, therefore, in terms of staff academic qualifications.

The principle behind the measurement is that cultural capital consists of an investment in minimum time necessary to accomplish an academic degree. The academic degree, certificate or diploma, represents an institutionally endorsed credential of qualification and confirmation of individual competence. The assumption made is that the higher the number of academic staff holding academic credentials and credentials, the higher the cultural capital of the institution. Also the higher the level of academic qualification, the more cultural capital the institution has. (This assumption is made more explicit later in this section).

On the basis of the raw data supplied by the institutions during the fieldwork for the 2003 academic year, (see Appendix 1), I establish the criterion weight, differentially, each postgraduate academic qualification (BA Hons., MA, PhD). The criterion consists of creating a coefficient based on the minimum number of years one would

need to complete, uninterruptedly, a (BA Hons., MA or a PhD) degree at any university, under normal circumstances without interruption, delays, or failure.

Up to 2003 the number of years required to complete a BA Honours degree at any university in Mozambique was taken to be five years[12]. I have, therefore, used five-year period as the basis for calculating the subsequent coefficients to weight the academic qualifications. Subsequent changes to the UEM curricula were made due to a reform process, which reduced the amount of time required to complete a BA Honours degree to a minimum of four years (UEM, 1999). Nevertheless, since the new curriculum had not yet been implemented at the time of the study, I decided to retain the five-year basis period.

In the case of Masters Degrees, a student would need to hold a BA Honours. Degrees, that is, have spent a minimum of five years studying at a university in addition to an extra two for the former. Furthermore, to obtain a PhD[13] degree would require a further minimum of three years of studying. However, I have considered using four years since, in many cases; Mozambicans who study abroad have to spend some time (six months or even a year) to mastering the language of instruction of the hosting country.

Establishing the minimum number of years of study to accomplish a degree allowed me to create a coefficient that provides a proportionate and meaningful weight to each category of academic qualification chosen, yielding the following ratio which in turn allows me to construct a weighted coefficient for each qualification:

[12] Universidade Eduardo Mondlane. *Reforma Curricular – Documento para Discussão [Curriculum Reform - Discussion Document]*. Maputo: UEM, 1999.

[13] In the case of PhD it is important to note that there were no PhD programmes at any University in Mozambique at the time that this study was undertaken. All the PhDs in the country were obtained abroad. I, therefore, based the information of minimum number on that of other Universities. Some programs do prescribe two or three years' coursework and seminars plus a dissertation, which can vary, according to the University. For instance, this is the case at the University of Cape Town, where the minimum permitted time for the attainment of a PhD is three years.

Table 2: Coefficient of cultural capital

Qualification	PhD	Masters	BA Hons.
Minimum number of years to accomplish the degree.	5+2+4= 11	5+ 2= 7	Base = 5
Ratio	11/5 = 2,2	7/5= 1,4	5/5= 1
Coefficients	2,2	1,4	1

In other words, MA weights 0.4 above a BA Hons and the PhD weights 0.8 above a MA and 1.2 above BA Hons. The scale of academic qualification weights is admittedly, a crude one, but provides one answer to the problem of ranking the institutions, since it allows us to differentiate between the institutions according to the amount of cultural capital possessed for each category of academic qualification.

On this basis, the cultural capital of each institution is measured by the sum of scores which derives from the operation of multiplication between the absolute numbers of each academic qualification (BA Hons, MA and PhD) by the corresponding coefficient (1; 1.4 and 2,2). The cultural capital index = N° staff with (BA Hons., MA, or PhD degree) x coefficient (1, 1.4 and 2, 2).

I should comment on the Nautical School (EN) and the private institutions concerning the analysis. I have mentioned before that neither EN nor the private institutions were considered in the analysis because of the incomparability of the data. Only four public institutions could provide comparable data on the two variables, namely, ACIPOL, ISRI, UEM and UP. Neither EN nor the private institutions were considered, because they do not yet have a system of academic positions or professional/career development in place.

A system of professional development means a system of classification of their staff in different academic positions, namely probationary, assistant professor, auxiliary professor, associate professor and full professor. These are the categories that have been used in most public institutions, excluding those institutions where the system is not yet operating as is the case of the Nautical School. (For further details on this issue see Appendix 1 Table 2, provides the raw data from which the graphs are constructed).

5.1.2 Cultural capital of public institutions

Table 3: Cultural capital index of public higher education institutions in 2003

Full-time academic staff qualifications									
Cultural Capital	Coefficient	ACIPOL		ISRI		UEM		UP	
		Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score
PhD	2,2	3	6.6	2	4.4	127	279.4	30	66
Masters	1.4	5	7	14	19.6	134	187.6	33	46.2
Honours	1	23	23	12	12	388	388	168	168
Total number of staff		31	36.6	28	36	649	855	231	280.2
Average score		-	1.18	-	1.29	-	1.32	-	1.21
Average expanded		X 10	11.8	-	12.9	-	13.2	-	12.1

Source: adapted from table 1 appendix 1

The data separates the academic staff into two sub-categories, namely full-time and part-time staff. The separation between full-time and part-time staff in the sub-field of each institution seems to be one of the features separating public institutions from private institutions, as I intend to illustrate through this analysis.

The data above reveals differences in cultural capital among public higher education institutions. Compared to ISRI (12.9), UP (12.1) and ACIPOL (11.8), the data indicates that UEM has the highest amount of cultural capital (13.2). In terms of the variable distribution of cultural capital, this is the first charting of the position the institutions occupy in the field of higher education institutions.

Table 3 shows the indicator, measured by academic qualifications, of cultural capital of full-time academic staff in public higher education institutions. The data also shows that public higher education institutions can be ranked according to the amount of cultural capital accumulated. In choosing to work with the scale (1; 1.4 and 2.2), I intended to establish a reasonable criterion to give differential weight to the academic qualifications as well as establish a ranking to locate each institution in a hierarchical structure of position, on the basis of the qualifications of full-time staff. Since this weighting did not sufficiently spread the scores out, I have multiplied these weightings by 10 in order to make the differential more visible.

Table 4: Capital cultural index of public higher education institutions in 2003

Part-time academic staff qualifications									
Cultural Capital	Coefficient	ACIPOL		ISRI		UEM		UP	
		Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score
PhD	2,2	7	15.4	0	0	24	52.8	6	13.2
Masters	1.4	22	30.8	1	1.4	40	56	8	11.2
Honours	1	26	26	30	30	299	299	49	49
Total number of staff		55	72.2	31	31.4	363	407.8	63	73.4
Average score		-	1.31	-	1.01	-	1.12	-	1.17
Average expanded		X10	13.1	-	10.1	-	11.2	-	11.7

Source: adapted from table 1 appendix 1

Unfortunately, it is not easy to determine that the declared part-time academic staff of the private institutions is not the full-time academic staff of the public institutions, as widespread anecdote would have it. I have come to a preliminary conclusion that well established public institutions, such as UEM and UP, rely more on full-time academic staff than on part-time academic staff while the less established public institutions and the private institutions rely on part-time academic staff (see Tables 4 and 5 below).

A need still exists for a systematic study of the mobility of academic staff between public and private institutions in Mozambique. Such studies would help to disclose the real features of the academic staff mobility and interchange between the public and private institutions in the country. According to Adalberto Alberto (2006)[14], there is currently one unpublished study commissioned by the Ministry of Education and Culture at the Centre of Population Studies (CEP) of the Eduardo Mondlane University. This report is not publicly available.

Before embarking on an analysis of the full-time and part-time contrast, I shall refer to the distribution of cultural capital across the public institutions based on their part-time academic staff qualifications. This time, ACIPOL this time appears to be in the front position (13.1), followed by UP (11.7), UEM in third position (11.2) followed by ISRI (10.1). These differences in scores can be translated into differences in the distribution of cultural capital.

[14] Adalberto Alberto is the director of the Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education within the Ministry of Education and Culture in Mozambique. I interviewed him in Maputo in May 09 2006.

The institutions that are endowed with a large amount of cultural capital and which are clearly demarcated from the others have gone through a process of accumulation (see Appendix 2, List of Higher Education Institutions to get an idea of the year of creation of each institution). In other words, the distribution of cultural capital is related to the date of establishment of the institution, and also to the nature of the contractual linkage of the academic staff with the institutions, that is, whether full-time or part-time.

Well-established institutions tend to have an academic staff with the highest academic degree while not well-established institutions are likely to have staff with lower academic degrees. This seems to be the case when we look at institutions, such as UEM, UP and ISPU, with more than two decades of existence. The high ranking of ACIPOL is possibly explained by its peculiarity as a specialised institutions established for training higher officials for the Mozambican police. During its installation phase, with considerable international aid and technical support, highly qualified individuals were hired as part-time staff (SPHEM, 2000; Brito et al., 2003).

5.1.3 Cultural capital of private institutions

Table 5: Capital cultural index of private higher education institutions in 2003

Full-time staff academic qualifications													
Cultural Capital	Coefficient	ISCTEM		ISPU		ISUTC		UCM		UDM		UMMB	
		Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score
PhD	2,2	2	4.4	5	11	3	6.6	5	11	0	0	0	0
Masters	1,4	1	1.4	3	4.2	2	2.8	36	50.4	1	1.4	0	0
BA Hons	1	11	11	19	19	4	4	40	40	0	0	0	0
Total number of staff		14	16.8	27	34.2	9	13.4	81	101.4	1	1.4	0	0
Average score		-	1.20	-	1.27	-	1.49	-	1.25	-	1.40	-	0
Average expanded		x10	12.0	-	12.7	-	14.9	-	12.5	-	14.0	-	0

Source: adapted from table 1 appendix 1

An examination of the data for the private institutions suggests the following interpretation. The private institution on top of the ranking is ISUTC with a score of (14.9) UDM is in second position with (14.0) followed by ISPU with (12.7) UCM

with (12.5), ISCTEM with (12.0) and finally UMMB with zero. We will see later in this chapter that up to 2003, the UMMB staff was made up of part-time appointments only.

On the one hand, ISUTC established in 1999 and UDM established in 2002 are the leading institutions in the ranking of distribution of cultural capital. ISPU and UCM were established in 1995. ISCTEM was established in 1996 and they form a cluster of relatively older institutions in compared with ISUTC and UDM. They have, however, lower cultural capital than ISUTC and UDM. UMMB was established in 1998 and is the institution with the lowest cultural capital. The pattern of distribution discloses the kind of investment institutions have been making by having their own permanent academic staff.

The proportion of academic degrees in each institution reveals that ISPU, ISCTEM and UCM are investing much in staff with the lowest academic degrees, namely BA Hons., as compared to ISUTC and UDM. The proportion of BA Hons in these institutions compared to other academic degrees is higher than in ISUTC and UDM.

Table 6: Cultural capital index of private higher education institutions in 2003

Part-time staff academic qualifications													
Cultural Capital	Coefficient	ISCTEM		ISPU		ISUTC		UCM		UDM		UMMB	
		Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score
PhD	2,2	16	35.2	9	19.8	4	8.8	1	2.2	0	0	1	2.2
Masters	1.4	37	52.8	31	43.4	14	19.6	15	21	9	12.6	6	8.4
BA Hons	1	118	118	107	107	32	32	47	47	22	22	42	42
Total number of staff		171	206	147	170.2	50	60.4	63	70.2	31	34.6	49	52.6
Average score		-	1.20	-	1.16	-	1.21	-	1.11	-	1.12	-	1.07
Average extended		X10	12.0	-	11.6	-	12.1	-	11.1	-	11.2	-	10.7

Source: adapted from table 1 appendix 1

The data above shows the distribution of cultural capital among private higher education institutions measured by part-time academic staff qualifications. The results display the following positions: ISUTC remains on top of the ranking with (12.1) and is followed by ISCTEM with (12.0) having moved from fifth place to second. ISPU

comes next in third position with (11.6), followed by UDM with (11.2) in fourth position. UCM, with (11.1), took the fifth position while the bottom position goes once again to UMMB, having scored (10.7).

As mentioned before, it would be expected that ISPU, UCM and ISCTEM would be the institutions occupying the top positions as they were, amongst the first private institutions, the first to start operating in Mozambique. ISUTC and UDM would then come in the next position. UMMB, unsurprisingly, appears in the bottom position. Although it was one of the first private institutions appearing in the scenario of private higher education, it started with no full-time academic staff and five years later still had no full-time staff, but this alignment of length establishment with amount of cultural capital in not as pronounced as it is for the public institutions.

ISUTC and UDM rank highly, although they are comparatively new institutions. From the data available, it is not possible to be certain of this, but it is at least plausible that the cultural capital of the private institutions is a function of their facility to 'piggy back' or 'shoulder ride' the cultural capital of the public institutions, by double-employing their full-time staff with higher qualifications.

5.2 Analysing scientific capital

5.2.1 Constructing a scientific capital index

In the previous section, I established the criterion to create a cultural capital index. In this section, I establish the criterion to assess scientific capital. It might be worth recalling that scientific capital is regarded by Bourdieu (2003:26) as a "particular specie of symbolic capital, that consist in the acknowledgment (credit) attributed to an individual by his competing peers within the field: For instance academic award and citation index are mostly used as indicators of scientific capital".

Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that there are two forms of power corresponding to two species of scientific capital, 'pure' scientific capital and institutionalised scientific capital. On the one hand, there is power that can be called temporal (or politic), institutional power that is related to the occupation of important positions in the

scientific institutions. Positions as heads of departments and laboratories, membership in committees and evaluation boards, etc, are regarded as a means to acquire the institutionalised form. On the other hand, a specific power, individual prestige based on peer recognition, thus less objectified and institutionalised, is regarded as the requirement for the acquisition of 'pure' scientific capital.

The two forms of scientific capital have different strategies for accumulation. The institutionalised form of scientific capital depends essentially on specific political strategies such as conference attendance, thesis supervision, convening courses, participation in academic events, meetings, ceremonies etc. 'Pure' scientific capital, less objectified, somewhat imprecise and relatively undertermined, depends to some extent on the recognition of a certain individual charisma or *'libido sciendi'*. The former is more bureaucratic in its procedures and the latter is more situated on the 'charismatic' logic of the 'inventor' (Bourdieu, 2000).

Bourdieu (1988) in when analysing the higher education field in his country, France, describes it as a structured opposition between agents possessing 'scholastic capital', the pure scientific capital based on prestige and intellectual renown, and 'academic capital', the institutionalised form of scientific capital.

This study considers both species of scientific capital measured by academic position for academic capitals and by publications for scholastic capital. The data is aggregated for each institution. On the basis of the document entitled '*Regulamento da carreira docente*', a directive of academic staff development of UEM (UEM, 2000),[15] I establish the criterion to weight the different academic positions of the academic staff, and derive a scientific capital index for academic position.

The principle behind this is that academic positions, - Full Professor, Associate Professor, Auxiliary Professor, Probationary or Assistant Lecturer, - can be measured by the average number of hours each category needs to prepare classes as laid down in the '*Regulamento*'. The assumption is that the more senior the staff member, the less

[15] Regulation for academic career development or progression.

time she or he requires to prepare classes. The following table shows the coefficient obtained on the basis of the above-mentioned criterion.

5.2.1.1 Scientific capital measured by academic position: academic capital

Table 7: Coefficient of scientific capital by academic position

Academic Position	Full Professor	Associate Professor	Auxiliary Professor	Assistant Lecturer	Probationary Lecturer
Average number of hours to prepare classes.	8.5	9.5.	13	13.5	14
Ratio	8.5/14 = 0.61	9.5/14 = 0.68	13/14 = 0.93	13.5/14 = 0.96	14/14 = 1
Coefficient multiplied by 10	6.1	6.8	9.3	9.6	10

Source: Adapted from: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (2000)

The number of hours a lecturer in a certain academic position is expected to expend in preparation on one lecture was calculated in a document called '*Regulamento da carreira do corpo docente*', which can be translated as 'regulations for academic career development' (UEM, 2000). The document presents a table of average numbers of hours a probationary lecturer, an associate and a full professor would notionally expend preparing a lecture.

The fewer number of hours one needs to prepare a lecture the higher would be the academic position. I derived a scale from the '*Regulamento da carreira docente*'. If a lecturer is probationary he or she is expected to expend 14 hours preparing a lecture. The coefficient (1) represents thus the starting point for everyone entering the academic staff as a probationary lecturer. As they progress in the academic career the trend is to decrease the number of hours expected to prepare lectures.

The table above represents the way in which the index decreases as the academic position increases. The assumption that underlies the scores is that the higher the academic position the more academically specialized is the person, who thus needs less time to prepare classes. Consequently, the minimum time a lecturer needs to prepare a lecture represents the highest academic position; Full Professor needs (8.5)

hours per lecture while a probationary lecturer would need (14) hours to prepare the same lecture.

Table 8 illustrates the distribution of academic capital among public higher education institutions in the year 2003. It should be noted that the way the index is calculated, the lower the index the higher the amount of academic capital.

Table 8: Academic capital index of public higher education institutions in 2003

Full – time staff academic qualifications									
Cultural Capital	**Coefficient**	**ACIPOL**		**ISRI**		**UEM**		**UP**	
		Staff	**Score**	**Staff**	**Score**	**Staff**	**Score**	**Staff**	**Score**
Full Professor	.61	0	**0**	0	**0**	7	**4.27**	1	**0.61**
Associate Professor	.68	1	**0.68**	0	**0**	37	**25.16**	14	**9.52**
Auxiliary Professor	.93	6	**5.58**	1	**.93**	72	**66.96**	15	**13.95**
Assistant Lecturer	.96	14	**13.44**	19	**18.24**	349	**335.04**	160	**153.6**
Probationary Lecturer	1	10	**10**	11	**11**	186	**186**	55	**55**
Total number of staff		**31**	**29.7**	**31**	**30.17**	**651**	**617.43**	**245**	**232.68**
Average score		**-**	**0.96**	**-**	**0.97**	**-**	**0.95**	**-**	**0.95**
Average extended		**X10**	**9.6**	**-**	**9.7**	**-**	**9.5**		**9.5**

Source: adapted from table 2 appendix 1

As we can see UEM and UP, with (9.5), are the two institutions which have gathered relatively more academic capital measured by the academic positions of their full time staff. These two institutions are the only ones with full professors and sizable complement of associate professors. ACIPOL with (9.6) comes next and the last position is occupied by ISRI with (9.7), whose highest rank, with one incumbent, is auxiliary professor. The next table follows the same pattern. This table refers to part-time staff academic qualifications. UEM is again on top with (7.2) followed by ACIPOL which comes ahead of UP and finally ISRI on the bottom rank. UP loses position here because of its relatively large number of probationary lecturers.

Table 9: Scientific capital indexes of public higher education institutions in 2003

Part-time staff academic qualification in public institution									
Cultural Capital	Coefficient	ACIPOL		ISRI		UEM		UP	
		Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score	Staff	Score
Full Professor	.61	0	**0**	0	**0**	0	**0**	0	**0**
Associate Professor	.68	4	**2.72**	0	**0**	7	**4.76**	6	**4.08**
Auxiliary Professor	.93	25	**23.25**	0	**0**	42	**39.06**	11	**10.23**
Assistant Lecturer	.96	26	**24.96**	16	**15.36**	167	**160.32**	77	**73.92**
Probationary Lecturer	1	0	**0**	7	**7**	7	**7**	16	**16**
Total number of staff		**55**	**50.93**	**23**	**22.36**	**293**	**211.14**	**110**	**104.23**
Average score		-	**0.93**	-	**0.97**	-	**0.72**	-	**0.95**
Average extended		**x10**	**9.3**	-	**9.7**	-	**7.2**	-	**9.5**

Source: adapted table 2 appendix 1

5.2.1.2 Scientific capital measured by academic staff publications: scholastic capital

In the previous section the scientific capital was measured by the positions of academic staff, the equivalent of academic capital. In this section, it is the scientific prestige and intellectual renown of the higher education institutions that is to be measured. The proportion of publications in the year 2003 is the criterion used to assess scholastic capital. Table 10 shows the numbers of publications for all public higher education institutions in the study. Only full-time staff are used to calculate the average since part-time staff are not expected to do research.

Table 10:Scientific capital measured by publications in public higher education institutions in 2003

Scientific Capital	Coefficient	ACIPOL		ISRI		UEM		UP	
Books	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	38
Articles	1	0	0	0	0	69	69	25	25
Total full-time staff	-	31	0	28	0	651	69	231	63
Average score	-	-	0	-	0	-	0.11	-	0.27
Expanded score	X 10	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	27

Source: adapted from table 3 appendix 1

As can be seen, the number of publications is rather meagre. If we look at the private institutions (see Appendix 1 Table 3) the pattern is of non-publication. They are teaching institutions, they do not do research. This characteristic is not a feature solely of the private institutions. Even amongst public institutions, very few have a publication policy or a university press. UEM is the only university with an established press, but no books appear in the publications catalogues.

Therefore the numbers of publications is not unexpected. UEM and UP, the first two public higher education institutions established in the country, appear with the highest number of publications in the year 2003. UP has (18) books published nationally and (25) articles, one of them internationally published. UEM has (69) articles, two of them published internationally. As with cultural capital in the public higher education institutions, length of establishment and amount of scholastic capital seem to vary in tandem.

A weighting criterion was used to differentiate books from the articles in the analysis. The differentiation is based on a publication index. It was assumed that the value of a book is at least twice that of an article. This criterion, crude as it is, is useful enough for the purpose of the analysis in this study, as the intention is to explore how to assess the distribution of capital based on publications.

The situation of having a small number of publications in Mozambican higher education institutions makes this criterion a difficult one to use. If there are no publications, or when the number of publications is extremely limited, it is becomes

simplistic to count how many books or articles were published by whom in a period of a year.

I initially thought that publications would give enough evidence of the differentiation of the institutions. However, as we could see above, this seems not to be the case. As observed by Teresa Cruz e Silva (2005), a Mozambican social historian, paucity of publications is probably one of the major weaknesses of the Mozambican academic field: there is poor dissemination of the few locally published books; there is a relative lack of funds for publication; and of qualified people to manage its production, and often a lack of interest from the side of the Mozambican researchers to publish. For these reasons, it is rare to find publications of Mozambicans published internationally, expatriates apart. For these reasons, I decided not to represent graphically the distribution of scientific capital measured by publications.

In future research with a more extensive analysis, and a different approach, perhaps it would be possible to understand the implication of publications in the reproduction of capital. As it is difficult to draw any kind of inferences from the available data on publications a more extensive study is necessary to see how it might impact on the differentiation of higher education institutions.

5.3 Analysing economic capital

5.3.1 Economic capital measured by variety of income sources

Thus far the focus has been on how cultural and scientific capital is distributed among higher education institutions in Mozambique. The intention now is to analyse the distribution of economic capital, which is generally understood as a form of capital that is immediately and directly convertible into money (Bourdieu, 1986). It can also be considered as material wealth, a broader definition that can include mobile and physical infrastructure, such as assets, laboratories, money, and so forth.

Originally my intention was to present data on annual budget and the sources of funding or income of each institution. However, fieldwork showed that it was not possible to collect reliable data as most of the institutions, particularly the private

institutions, refused to make that information available, preferring to say that 100% of their income came from students' fees. UCM is the exception among the private institutions that declared the variety of income sources they have.

In the case of the public institutions the situation was relatively different. Most institutions do not have their financial accounting systems operating optimally. UP, for instance, failed to provide data on the annual budget for 2003, supposedly because they do not produce an annual report and the computers with the information of the previous years were damaged. Thus, UP was excluded from the analysis in this section.

So far two scenarios have emerged. All the private institutions, with the exclusion of UCM, claimed that 100 % of their income came from one source, which is students' fees; while the public institutions, UP excluded, presented the proportion of income according to the source of funding. The reason for including data on economic capital, notwithstanding the limitations of the data and the methodological approach, was to provide an opportunity to reflect on those difficulties. Having decided to maintain these variables I chose to include the data as it was collected. The data does not allow us to rank institutions according to the amount of economic capital, but prompts other interpretation and speculations, such as the questions of autonomy.

The actual disposition of the data allows a supposition based on the variety of the sources of income. It could be argued that some institutions could get more money from one source, convertible into economic capital, than the others, depending on the index established to interpret the data. However, inferences can also be made in terms of the autonomy of the institution relative to their source of income.

According to Maton (2005:688) "the question of autonomy is central to understanding the structuring principles of a field in two principal ways. First, each field as a whole is relatively autonomous from the fields of economic and political power, which dominate society. Each field exhibits homologous features to the wider social structure and has its own specific structure and logic".

Maton also argues that a "field autonomy is illustrated by the way it generates its own values and markers of achievement, but the relative nature of its autonomy means these values are not alone in shaping the field; economic and political power also play a role, albeit in a form specific to each field" (Maton, 2005:699). The more funds the institution gets from one particular source the more dependent that institution would be on that same source. And the more diverse the sources of funding the more autonomous the institutions will be, because relatively less dependent on any one source.

Table 11: Economic capital of higher education institutions measured by variety of sources of income in 2003

Indicators of Economic Capital	Variety of income sources				
	Students fees/ Own funds	Public funds	Direct donor funds	Other	Total
	%	%	%	%	
Public Institutions					
ACIPOL	*0.0*	*27.3*	*72. 7*	*0*	100
ISRI	*1.01*	*77.4*	*0.0*	*21.6*	100
UEM 2)	*13.4*	*51.9*	*23.3*	*11.4*	100
UP	*No info. Available*	*No info. available*	*No info. Available*	*No info. available*	
Private Institutions					
ISCTEM	100	0	0	0	100
ISPU	100	0	0	0	100
ISUTC	100	0	0	0	100
UCM	51.7	0	35.2	13.1	100
UDM	100	0	0	0	100
UMMB	100	0	0	0	100

Source: Data gathered for the research and supplied by higher education institutions in 2006
2) Eduardo Mondlane University (2003) *Financial Report.* [On line]. Available: http://. www.uem.mz [2006, July 15]

Four categories distinguish the origin of the income of the institutions, namely, students' fees, public funds, donations, and other as an aggregate category for secondary sources of income. A common feature of the public institutions is the funds they get from the state. Mozambican public higher education institutions receive an annual budget from the fiscus. It is the fact that they receive money from the state that makes them public institutions. The question is not to know how much each institution gets from the state, but rather it is to determine the weight of the state on the institution, shown by the proportion of the state funding relative to other sources of income.

The data indicates that UEM is the institution which has its funds most evenly distributed across the four categories of income: in the year 2003 (13.4%) was from student fees; (51.9%) from public funds; (23%) from direct donors; and (11.4%) from private sources of income. Although three other institutions relied on three sources out of four income sources UEM is the only institution receiving funds from all four sources selected for this research. ISRI follows with three sources distributed in the following manner: (1.01%) from student fees; (77.4%) from public funds; (21.6%) from other. ACIPOL gets nothing from the student only (27.3%) from public funds; (72 .7%) from donors[16]. UP is another notable case, a teacher training institution, with no alternative sources of funding and supported almost 100% by public funds, revealing its total and complete dependency on public money.

5.3.2 Constructing an economic capital index

It is possible to construct an index for the public higher education institutions based on the percentage of public funds to assess the level of the institution's autonomy, the assumption being that the level of autonomy depends on the variety of income sources. The more variety of sources of income the more autonomous the institution will be. The criterion to construct the index is prefaced by some observations to clarify the notion of autonomy used in this section.

The notion of autonomy in this study differs from the way it has been formally defined in the Mozambican new law for higher education (MESCT, 2003). According to article 5, the autonomy of higher education institutions is "the capacity to exercise the powers and faculties in executing the goals and missions on the institutions, and observe the obligations at an administrative, financial, assets/properties, and scientific - pedagogic level in order to achieve academic and intellectual freedom, in accordance with the policies and national plans" (MESCT, 2003)[17].

[16] This distribution of ACIPOL reveals more than one would expect. It reveals the condition of dependency on international aid. In fact, more than 60 percent of the state budget comes from donations and external funding (see Macamo, 2005).
[17] My translation from the original in Portuguese.

According to this law institutions have the right to:

- procure their own assets/properties in accordance with observation of the applicable legislation;
- obtain the necessary earnings to execute their activities;
- manage the budgets in accordance with the respective plans.

Formally that is the legal framework in which autonomy is defined by the law. As stated before, legal autonomy is a particular type of autonomy that is important for the higher education institutions. However, in a pragmatic way the very existence of the institutions depends on the economic capital they can mobilize and the state is one major source of funding.

The criterion adopted in the calculation of this index, is based on the following coefficients. Coefficient (4) stands for the state funds and is basic. Apart from defining the nature of the public institution, those which depend on public funds, private institutions also expect some financial support from the state. Coefficient (3) refers to donated funds; coefficient (2) refers to earning funds from student fees and finally the coefficient (1) refers to a variety of other source of funding.

This index is applicable only for the public institutions. I assume that receiving state funds is what defines in a crude way the institution as public. Public funds are, thus, weighted four times the category of others sources, double the student fees and three 25% the donor funds. The principle behind this assumption is that, even in situations in where the state funds are less than that from other sources – this is case the of ACIPOL in 2003 which I will discuss further – the state is still the main provider of funds to the public institution.

Donors' funds come as the second most important source for a specific reason. Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world, whose annual state budget is financially supported, by more than 50%, by donations or loans from international donors (Macamo, 2003, 2005). It would be difficult to assess here the impact of donor support given the different forms of support they provide. In some cases they directly control the funds, this is the case for scholarships, and in other the institutions control

the funds themselves. However, generally international donors have played a major role in the construction of higher education in Mozambique. For instance, in 2002 donors provided more than one-third of total budget for the public universities (Brito et al., 2003: 11).

Student fees weight (2) because it is not the major source of funding for Mozambican public higher education institutions, as the government subsidize the studies in public universities almost at an unsustainable level (Mário et al., 2003). The category of others weight only (1) because it refers to a group of indefinite sources. In the case of the private institutions this criterion would function in the same manner, however, in an inverted way. Here I gave a weighting of (4) for student fees because, contrary to the subsidised student in a public institution, student fees in private institution is the major source of income. I considered (3) for donors (2) for others and (1) for state funds. However, in this study I did not construct an index for the privates as UCM is the only institution that has funds from different sources.

Table 12: Economic capital index measured by the percentage variety of income sources

Economic Capital	Coefficient	ACIPOL		ISRI		UEM		UP	
		%	Score	%	Score	%	Score	%	Score
Other	1	0	**0**	21.6	**21.6**	11.4	**11.4**	0	**0**
Students fees	2	0	**0**	1.01	**2.02**	13.4	**26.8**	0	**0**
Direct donors	3	72.7	**218.1**	0	**0**	23.3	**69.9**	0	**0**
State funds	4	27.3	**109.2**	77.4	**309.6**	51.9	**207.6**	100	**400**
Total % of income		**100**	**327.3**	**100**	**333.22**	**100**	**315.7**	**100**	**400**
Average score		-	**3.273**	-	**3.33**	-	**3.157**	-	**4.0**
Average extended		**x10**	**32.7**	-	**33.3**	-	**31.57**	-	**40**

Source: adapted from the raw data, see table 4 appendix 1

Table 12 combines the two criteria used to measure economic capital, namely the variety of income sources and the weight of each source. The positions of the public institutions on the basis of each criterion is the following: in terms of the variety of income sources the UEM is the more autonomous institution with (4) sources, ISRI with (3) sources is in the second place, ACIPOL with (2) sources is in the third place

and UP with (1) source is in the fourth place. In terms of the weight of each income source UEM continues to lead as the institution which on average depends less on the sources. UEM has scored (31.57) followed by ACIPOL with (32.7), which changes positions with ISRI which scored (33.3) and UP remains in the last position with (40). These rankings reflect the level of autonomy of the institutions from the income sources.

If one considers the same variable for the private institutions, the situation changes considerably. Contrary to the public institutions that are primarily supported by public funds, the private institutions are supported, predominantly, by other sources. ACIPOL is an exception in the public institutions having most of its funds from direct donors. The supposition is that the reason behind the higher proportion of donor funds at ACIPOL is related to its installation phase, as a project financially supported by international donors, would have to be confirmed by further investigation.

All the private institutions declared that 100% of their earnings come from student fees. UCM is the one private institution where the funds are divided between student fees (51.7 %), donations (35.2%) and others (13.1 %). UCM does not mention any kind of income from public funds.

Some higher education institutions do offer public services besides their core business of training students. Those services contribute to the annual income of the institution. For instance, ISCTEM runs a private dental clinic in the Faculty of Health Sciences while ISPU has a bookshop and others sources of income. In future research it will be important to determine an appropriate approach for obtaining more reliable information on the sources of income.

A preliminary conclusion on private institutions is that they have to do anything to avoid perishing. Survival issues could compromise the quality of scholarly work, but on the other hand, they are at least far more autonomous from the state than the public institution. It will be interesting to see, in future work, which source – state pr market – poses the greatest threat to autonomy.

5.4 Analysing social capital

5.4.1 Social capital measured by networks of connection

The study now turns to analysis of the distribution of social capital among higher education institutions in 2003. According to Sabatini (2005:03) the concept of social capital has a long intellectual history in the social sciences, but has gained prominence only in the nineties, due to Bourdieu's (1980, 1986); Coleman's (1988, 1990) and Putnam's (1993, 1995) seminal studies.

Currently, there is a large amount of literature on social capital. For example, Sabatini (2005; 2005a), and Owen and Videras, (2006) debate the different strategies of measuring social capital. After considering these debates, I have decided to use Bourdieu's notion of social capital, which comprises two dimensions: first, a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks; and secondly, a quality produced by the totality of relationships between the actors, rather than merely a common quality of the group (Bourdieu, 1980, cited in Sabatini, 2005).

Regarding the first dimension, the volume of social capital of the institution depends on the size of the network of connections that the institution can mobilize. The social capital of the institutions is measured here by counting the number of affiliations (memberships) of the institution to scientific organizations, national and international.

Concerning the second dimension, social capital is defined as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintanceship and recognition: in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986).

The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent, including an institution, thus depends on the size of the network of connections he or she can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected. On this basis I then

identify three variables that enable me to establish the network of connections of the different higher education institutions. Table 12 below shows the number of national and international agreements and protocols between institutions, national and international membership of scientific organizations and finally, national and international cooperation agreements with non-academic organizations.

As table 12 shows, among the public institutions, UEM is the institution that is most internationally connected, represented by (12) international and (5) national agreements and, (4) memberships. ACIPOL with (7) national and (7) international agreements is in the second place. UP have (6) international and (4) national agreements, and (2) memberships is in the third place. ISRI is in the fourth place with (4) international and (2) national agreements, and (1) national membership. Finally EN has (3) national and (1) international agreements.

Amongst the private institutions, ISPU is the institution with the highest social capital. It has (23) international and (2) national agreements. In terms of cooperation it has (31) protocols with non-academic institutions and membership of three international academic organizations. ISCTEM is the next with (8) international and (4) national agreements. UCM has (1) international agreement and (4) cooperation protocols with non-academic organizations. ISUTC follows with (3) international and (1) national agreements. UDM and UMMB report no connections of any kind.

Table 13: Social capital of higher education institutions measured by network of connections in 2003

Indicator of social capital	N° Agreements or cooperation protocols (academic)		Membership of scientific organization		Cooperation with voluntary organizations and civil society (Non-academic)	
Institution	National	International	National	International	National	International
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Public						
ACIPOL	7	7	0	0	0	2
ISRI	0	4	1	2	0	0
UEM	5	12	0	4	0	0
UP	4	6	0	2	0	0
EN	3	1	0	0	0	0
Private						
ISCTEM	4	8	0	0	0	0
ISPU	2	23	0	3	31	3
ISUTC	1	3	0	0	0	0
UCM	0	1	0	0	4	2
UDM	0	0	0	0	0	0
UMMB	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	26	65	1	11	35	7

Source: data collected during fieldwork in higher education institutions in 2006

The general pattern of the relation between the length of establishment of the institutions and the amount of capital remain the same even in the case of social capital. In this case the well-established the institution is the larger the size of network of connection with other institutions. UCM is the only one institution which is an exception to the general trend. At this stage of the research I can only speculate on the reasons as possibly related to: its religious nature, which might make the institution privilege in first instance cooperation its other religious institutions; or with the location of its main campus in a secondary major city of the country (Beira), were the institution is less exposed to other institutions; or even with particular strategies which I only intend to explore in future studies.

5.5 Plotting a two dimensional space of cultural and scientific capital

Drawing from the analysis of the distribution of different forms of capital in the previous section, an attempt will now be made to plot institutional positions in an imaginary space of capital for Mozambican higher education. In other words, I will now attempt to plot graph of positions occupied by higher education institutions in the field of higher education in Mozambique.

It is worth to recalling that for Bourdieu (1991:230) social space is defined by "the reciprocal externality of positions that is, by the mutual exclusion, or distinction, of the positions, which constitute it, that is, as a structure of juxtaposition of social positions (themselves defined ... as positions in the structure of distribution of the various kinds of capital)".

In graph 1four public higher education institutions are situated in a two dimensional space of capitals. It is a two dimensional space of capitals because it juxtaposes the cultural and scientific capital (academic capital) gathered for each institution in 2003. Economic capital, social capital, and scientific capital (scholastic capital, as measured by academic staff publications) are not considered in this exercise for the discussed reasons before, that there is a lack of reliable information in the archives of the institutions concerning these categories considered in this study. This is also applicable for the case of private institutions, thus, I did not display graphically their positions in the space of capitals.

The space of positions presented refers to a two dimensional space of capitals. I understand 'space of position' to be a distinct and distinctive topos that can be characterized in terms of the position institutions occupy relative to other institutions. Thus, in order to represent graphically the two-dimensional space of capitals I had to construct a composite index for each of the two forms of capitals, cultural and scientific.

5.5.1 Composite capital indexes for public higher education institutions in 2003

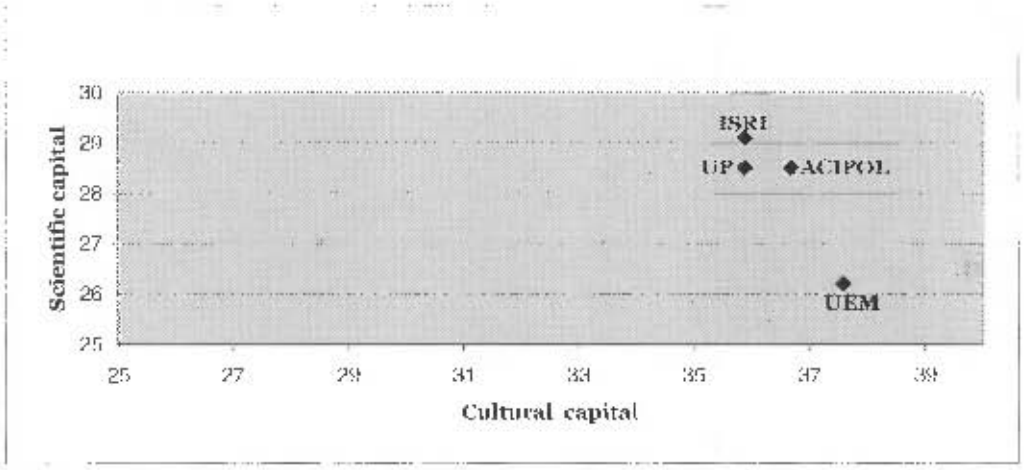
Table 14 below depicts the construction of a composite index for each of the two categories of capital for which comparable information was obtained in this study. It involves the merging of full-time and part-time staff for the public higher education institutions. The table shows the composite cultural capital index for the public higher education institutions in 2003.

I multiplied the scores of full-time staff by a coefficient of (2) and the scores of Part-Time staff by a coefficient of (1) to give different weights to the two categories, since the value of a Full-Time staff member is assumed to be at least twice that of a part-time staff member.

Table 14: Space of cultural and scientific capital composite index

Cultural capital	**Public institutions**				
	Coefficient	**ACIPOL**	**ISRI**	**UEM**	**UP**
Full – time	.2	11.8	12.9	13.2	12.1
		23.6	25.8	26.4	24.2
Part-time	.1	13.1	10.1	11.2	11.7
		13.1	10.1	11.2	11.7
Composite index		**36.7**	**35.9**	**37.6**	**35.9**
Scientific capital					
	Coefficient	**ACIPOL**	**ISRI**	**UEM**	**UP**
Full-time	.2	9.6	9.7	9.5	9.5
		19.2	**19.4**	**19**	**19**
Part-time	.1	9.3	9.7	7.2	9.5
		9.3	**9.7**	**7.2**	**9.5**
Composite index		**28.5**	**29.1**	**26.2**	**28.5**

Graph 1: Two-dimensional space of capital of public higher education institutions in 2003



The composite indexes obtained in table 14 are used to plot the position of the institutions four public higher education institutions in a two-dimensional space. Graph 1 confirms the outcomes of the individual analysis performed above, namely that UEM is placed in a dominant position in the space of cultural and scientific capital within the Mozambican field of public higher education institutions in the year 2003, at least for the four institutions in this study.

The significance of UEM occupying the top position in the space of positions can be determined by grasping the meaning of symbolic power in Bourdieu's theory. As outlined before in this chapter the position in the space of capitals is also a position of relative symbolic power.

As agents – here institutions – are defined by their relational position within the field of higher education institutions on the basis of the distribution of capitals, we can no longer regard them as isolated atomistic institutions. The position they occupy is now a *relational position* in a space of capitals, which confers on the institutions symbolic and material resources (power, prestige, status, money and so forth). By the means of those resources owing to the *relational position* they occupy, they derive properties which are irreducible to intrinsic characteristics of the institutions themselves. The structure of a field is given by relations between these positions, where such relations are not simply reducible to interactions (Bourdieu and Wacquant Wacquant, 1992: 96; Maton, 2005: 689).

To do this systematically, however, one would have to study the strategic actions of the various institutions. For example, I speculated below that capital-maximisation by private higher education institutions would differ from that of the publics in terms of how the privates, at least for cultural capital, could strategically 'shoulder ride' on the cultural capital (qualified academic staff) of the publics. For a second example, I began to suggest different possible challenges to autonomy between the publics and the privates. In both cases, one would expect to see different kinds of strategies, and their differential sources would partly help to explain the relative position in the space of capitals.

Various interpretations can be given to the meaning of UEM, or any other institution for that matter occupying a certain position in a social field of higher education institutions. In this study, my intentions are much more modest and restricted to the construction of the social space of higher education institutions and the positioning of the institutions in that space. In other words, my analysis is a structural one. What is needed next is a dynamic analysis which shows how the strategic action of the institutions contributes to – maximise of minimise – relative structural position.

Nonetheless, a hypothetical interpretation can be attempted of the meaning of the structure of the field of higher education institutions which I have constructed. I will base my interpretation on Maton's (2005) consideration on the autonomy of the field of higher education. According to Maton there are "two main forms of capital circulating in a field representing competing principles of hierarchization: an autonomous principle looking inwards to the ostensibly disinterested activities of the field (such as 'knowledge for its own sake') and a heterogeneous principle looking beyond the field's specific activities and towards political and economic success (such as generating research income or wielding administrative power)" (Maton, 2005: 690).

By applying these two principles, two preliminary assumptions can be derived from the findings of this study. The first assumption, and related to Maton's first principle, is that if UEM is in the top (dominant) position in the field it is autonomous enough to set, for instance, its own research agenda more so than other public institutions would be able to do.

In most of the cases UEM appears to be the institutions which gathered more capital (material and symbolic assets) than other institutions. That led UEM to be in a dominant position in the field thanks to its highly qualified staff. In terms of cultural capital (highly qualified staff), economic (more variety of income sources) and social capital (larger network of connection with other academic institutions) UEM also appears with higher levels of capital, which can be converted into more autonomy, again, to set up its own research agenda. There few situations in which UEM is not in the top position. For instance, in terms of publication UP is the institution that presented more publications (scholastic capital). However, as I mentioned before, publications still generally a very underdeveloped subfield in Mozambican academy.

The second assumption, this time related to Maton's second principle of hierarchization, looks beyond field specific activities and towards political and economic success. The mere fact that UEM has accumulated more economic and social capital from external sources is an indicator of the institution's symbolic capital. It reflects its political and economic success in convincing its financial partners that it is worthwhile to invest in UEM. Such symbolic capital engenders a sense of inferiority in other institutions that look up to those institutions that have that power. In a preliminary conclusion from the analysis I would highlight the idea that the more well-established the institution is, the higher the capital it can accumulate. In other words, capital (length of time of establishment) attracts capital (material and symbolic assets).

Table 15: Construction of a composite cultural capital index for the private institutions in 2003

Cultural capital	**Private institution**						
Full-time	**Coefficient**	**ISCTEM**	**ISPU**	**ISUTC**	**UCM**	**UDM**	**UMMB**
	.2	12.0	12.7	14.9	12.5	14.0	0
		24	25.4	29.8	25	28	0
Part-time	.1	12.0	11.6	12.1	11.1	11.2	10.7
		12.0	11.6	12.1	11.1	11.2	10.7
Composite index		**36**	**37**	**41.9**	**36.1**	**39.2**	**10.7**

It is not possible to create a two dimensional representation of the space of capitals for the private institutions. The reason already explained, is that I could not measure the scientific (academic) capital of the private institutions based on academic position.

Nonetheless, the table above shows the composite cultural capital of private higher education institutions.

The data allows me only to rank the institutions according to the amount of cultural capital they possess. ISUTC has scored 41.9, the top position. UDM comes next having scored 39.2; ISPU has scored 37 in third position, followed by UCM, which scored 36.1. ISCTEM scored 36 in fifth position. Finally in the bottom position is UMMB having scored only 10.7.

These scores shows, at least, those higher education institutions can be differentiated in terms of the cultural capital they possess. In other words, higher education institutions are taking different strategies in terms of investment on the capacity building of their own academic staff.

Some institutions rely more on their own academic staff while others live basically on the basis of borrowed academic staff. For instance, there is the remarkable case of UMMB, a relatively older institution founded in 1998, but up to 2003 had no full-time staff. For this reason, it should be clear that an analysis of strategic action is the logical next step. It may turn out that UMBB, for instance, through an adroit strategy of part-time hiring, is existing vicariously from a virtual capital 'borrowed' from its public neighbours.

5.6 Summary of chapter

In this chapter I have analysed the distribution of cultural, scientific, economic and social capital among different higher education institutions for the year 2003. Data exploration has shown the distribution of the capitals, which allows me to infer the relative position that each institution occupies in the social space of capitals in higher education in Mozambique. An examination of each form of capital showed that a different criterion was necessary to measure the amount of capital possessed by each institution.

For each form of capital a criterion was defined to construct indicators to use in the measurement of the amount of capital possessed. The outcome of the

operationalization and analysis of the distribution of capitals was a plotting of the space of positions of higher education institutions on the basis of distributions of two main forms of capitals, cultural and scientific (academic) represented in graph 1.

From this analysis it is possible to tentatively conclude in the following way:

- Well-established institutions are those which are likely to occupy the top position in the structured space of capitals, due to the investment, mostly in their academic staff, they have been making systematically over time. Conclusions would hold only for the public institutions.

- Institutions with a higher amount of a particular form of capital are likely to attract other forms of capital whether by conversion or by making new investments in order to accumulate other forms of capital.

- Institutions with a variety of income sources are likely to be more autonomous than those depending solely on one source of funding.

- Well-established institutions are also more likely to have a dense network of connections with other institutions than new comers.

I explore these preliminary conclusions and their implications in chapter 6.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6. Introduction

The aim of this research has been to establish:

- the positions occupied by Mozambican higher education institutions in a social space of capitals on the basis of differential possession of capital;
- the meaning of having a structured space of position on the basis of the differential distribution of capital among higher education institutions;
- a working hypothesis on whether the very specific constellation of higher education institutions in Mozambique is producing forms of interactions which resemble those identified by Bourdieu as typical of a field.

This chapter concludes the study by providing an overview of the main findings and discussing them in relation to the research questions, the analytical framework outlined in chapter 3 and the main hypothesis. The second part of the chapter contains some remarks on the methodological lessons learnt from this research experience.

6.1 The main findings

6.1.1 Structured space of positions

It is possible to place Mozambican higher education institutions in a structured space of positions of capital. In doing so, a fundamental property of the field of higher education institutions has been formally established. To recap, Bourdieu (1991a; 1993) conceptualised the social world as a constellation of multiple analytical and empirically separable domains of social life which labelled field. As I suggested in the analytical framework (see chapter 3) there is a number of necessary but insufficient properties that should exist in order to establish a field. To place a constellation of higher education institutions in a structured space of positions on the basis of the distribution of capital is one important and necessary, although insufficient; condition to establish the field of higher education institutions in Mozambique.

Indeed, at first glance it might appear that the two-dimensional space of capital (cultural and scientific) in which these four public higher educations are differentially positioned is not enough to confirm the existence of an operational field. However, the existence of a field does not depend necessarily on the number of agents, but on the nature of interactions among them, no matter what the quantity might be.

Furthermore, as Naidoo (2004:459) noted, a major insight in Bourdieu's work is that even though the location of agents and institutions within a common field presupposes a minimum level of agreement around basic principles, the field of higher education is in fact not a product of total consensus, but a product of a permanent conflict.

This study did not explore to what extent the interactions and stakes are oriented taking into account the position occupied by other institutions in the field (See Analytical framework: general properties of the field, chapter 3 figure 2).

6.1.2 Review of main findings

This section summarises the actual position higher education institutions occupy in the space of capital constructed in the study, discussing the findings on the distribution of cultural and scientific capital on the basis of a composite index for the public higher education institutions.

6.1.2.1 Public institutions and capital

Cultural and scientific capital

When public higher education institutions are brought together into a two - dimensional space of capital (cultural and scientific) UEM appears isolated at the top of the ranking, separated from the other three institutions, which form a sort of cluster. This means that UEM has more cultural and scientific capital than the UP, ACIPOL and ISRI (see graph 1, chapter 5).

The practical implications of an institution occupying a top position in terms of cultural and scientific capital can be diverse. It could be that UEM, because of its

highly qualified academic staff, establishes extremely demanding requirements for admission as full-time academic staff. Still to be validated by further research is the implication of the position occupied by each institution in determining their own research agendas.

According to Scott's (1995) classification one would hypothetically suggest that UEM displays the characteristics of a research university. Compared to UP, ACIPOL and ISRI, its number of highly qualified academic staff supports this assertion. Several implications can be derived from the position occupied by UEM in the space of capital. However, at this stage of my research, the aim is simply to provide a relational thinking framework for understanding the implication of having constellation of higher education institutions operating in the same social space.

The hierarchical position higher education institutions occupy in the field also points to the significance of their location in internal power relations of the field. As stated before, this study did not seek to establish the power relations themselves but intend to show that the representation of higher education institutions as existing independently of one another is replaced here with an understanding of higher education institutions as embedded in complex relations of power with other institutions (Naidoo, 2004: 467).

Generally speaking, my research indicated the significance of the dominant (top) position as related to the possession of a certain symbolic capital. This study used Bourdieu's theoretical framework to stand analytically, analysed the structuring system of the field of higher education institution in Mozambique (relational position of institutions) rather than the structuring of its symbolic system (relational position-takings) (Maton, 2005: 696).

Economic capital

Data exploration focusing on the relationship between a variety of income sources and the amount of economic capital showed the following conclusions:

- When I constructed an economic capital index (see chapter 5 economic capital index) on the basis of the percentages of income each institution gets from the four sources of funding which I considered for the analysis, I assumed that institutions with more sources of income are likely to have more economic capital. The distribution of economic capital among the four public higher education institutions shows that UEM has more economic capital. If fact UEM is the institution with funds coming from all four sources of funding considered in the study, namely students fees, public funds, donor and the aggregate category of other sources (see Table 12, chapter 5). However, the amount that institutions get from each particular source can be significant.

- The claim that I intended to make when measuring the distribution of economic capital by an index on the basis of variety of income sources is related to the autonomy of the institutions. As mentioned in chapter 5 when analysing the data, the more variety of sources of income the more autonomous the institutions are able to be. In 2003 UEM received 51.9% from the public funds; 23.3% from direct donors; 13.4% from student fees and 11.4% from the category other sources. Comparing UEM with ACIPOL, ISRI, and UP (see figures in table 12, chapter 5) reveals that UEM is the institution that has greatest diversification. In other words, UEM can hypothetically survive even if one of the sources decided to stop funding the institution. UP is in the converse situation, depending 100% on public funds.

Social capital

- In this study the way in which economic capital was measured was significantly related to the manner in which social capital was measured, namely, by the size of network connections. However, with social capital I analysed the connections with academic organizations by means of membership instead of funding sources.

- My research finding agree with Bourdieu statement that the volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of

connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected (Bourdieu, 1986: 249).

- This means that, although social capital is relatively irreducible to the economic and cultural capital possessed by a given institution, or even by the whole set of institutions to whom the institutions are connected, social capital is never completely independent of it because the exchanges instituting mutual acknowledgment presuppose the re-acknowledgment of a minimum of objective homogeneity, and because it exerts a multiplier effect on the capital they possesses in their own right..

- In terms of membership of international and national academic organizations, number of national and international agreement, and agreements with other academic institutions, the ranking of the four institutions is the following: UEM, UP, ACIPOL and ISRI. This means that UEM is hypothetically the institution with more contacts nationally and internationally. In terms of practical implication for the institution the most direct is being the most nationally and internationally well known institution of the country. The practical significance can additionally be reflected on the level of factual conversions of the social capital into other forms of capital, such as economic, scientific and cultural. Once again I come to the concluding idea that capital attracts more capital.

6.1.2.2 Private institutions and capital

Cultural and scientific capital

In the case of private higher education institutions cultural capital is also distributed differentially. It is difficult to establish with one variable the real meaning of the positions occupied by the institution. As explained before, I did not consider private higher education institutions for the analysis of scientific capital due to the absence of a system of career development. Thus, the results that discussed here are intended to show how the single variable of cultural capital is distributed among the institutions.

- There appears to be a relation between the investment in qualifications of academic staff and the cultural capital of the private institutions, which explains the position institutions occupy in the ranking established for the institutions. As stated before, the findings show that the academic qualifications of private higher education institutions basically consisted of holders of BA Hons degree and part-time staff (see Table 6 and 7, chapter 5).

- Both the categories of BA. Hon and part-time academic staff represent less investment in the development of full-time academic staff. In other words, the investment in cultural capital among private institutions is low.

Economic capital

In terms of economic capital, as shown in chapter 5, UCM is the only institution which declared receiving funds from three sources, namely student fees, direct donors and the aggregate category of other sources. Other institutions, ISPU, ISCTEM, ISUTC and UMMB are basically dependent on student fees as a sole funding source. As previously mentioned, an intensive study adopting other strategies of getting reliable information from private institutions could probably get more data on possible sources of funding. However, based on the declared sources, private education could hypothetically experience financial instability because students are not a stable source of funding.

Social Capital

As discussed in chapter 5, ISPU is the institution with a relatively large network of connections with other academic institutions both nationally and internationally. ISCTEM, UCM, ISUTC, UDM and UMMB all do less well than ISPU (see scores in chapter 5). This means that ISPU has more social capital than the other institutions. The same is so for ISCTEM compared to UCM and UCM compared to ISTUC and so forth. Once again, an empirical study to examine the significance and implications for an institution to have relatively larger or smaller connections has to be done. Theoretically, I can assume that ISPU is in a more advantageous situation to attract

new forms of capital or even to convert capital according to its own vision of the competition within the field of higher education institutions, but this remain to be shown.

6.2 Relating findings to the research questions

The following discussion relates the findings more directly to the questions the study expected to answer, which I restate:

What are the positions occupied by the different higher education institutions in the social space on the basis of differential possession of capital?

- Out of four public higher education institutions, namely ACIPOL, ISRI, UEM and UP that were functioning in 2003, it was possible to construct a two - dimensional structured space of capitals on the basis of the differential distribution of cultural and scientific capital (see Graph 1 chapter 5). In that space of capital UEM occupies the highest position followed by UP, ACIPOL and ISRI. The position in the space of capital is also a position in terms of symbolic power and symbolic capital.

- Nonetheless, the possession of economic and social capital was not represented graphically in a space of capital, for methodological reasons which discussed earlier; it was possible to rank the institutions according to the amount of each of these forms of capital.

- This is also feasible in the case of private higher education institutions. I did not construct a space of capital for the private institutions, but it was possible to provide a preliminary overview of the positions institutions would occupy on the basis of the distribution of different forms of capital.

Does the constellation of higher education institutions operate as a field?

- Perhaps it is soon to answer this question. At this stage it is arguable that Mozambican higher education institutions can be placed in a structured space

of positions on the basis of the distribution capital. Rather than set of properties, empirical research into the field dynamics is the reasonable way to establish the existence of a field. Here, it might be worth recalling that Bourdieu himself rarely invoked all seven properties, which I depict in the analytical framework (see figure 2, chapter 3) as necessary and sufficient conditions to establish the presence of a given field. On this base, the hypothesis that the Mozambican higher education institutions may be operating in a way depicted by Bourdieu as that of a field gains some more credence. However, more empirical studies to examine the field effects are necessary. As Bourdieu (1992, 1996) says, one cannot establish the existence of a field by decreeing its existence, but by studying its effects and limits.

6.3 Methodological lessons learnt

I now turn to discuss some methodological lessons learnt from the experience of doing this research. Firstly, from a methodological point of view, to ascertain whether there is a functioning social field in all its dimensions (for instance in terms of the seven field properties which I depict in the analytical framework figure 2 chapter 3) requires a long - range study with much more precision, and resources, than this dissertation was able to mobilise. Important properties of the fields were not considered in this exploratory study. Clearly, the challenge is to develop a large - scale research project, with observation instruments that are much more sensitive to quantitative and qualitative data in order to capture effectively the field effects and properties.

For instance, in order to examine the genesis and structure of the field of higher education institutions in Mozambique, in terms of searching for the presence of field effects, strategies, usurpations, exclusion in the competition, struggles for monopoly of species of capital, one needs to construct the space of higher education institutions. This means in Bourdieuan terms "constructing the *system of criteria* (my emphasis) that could account for a set of meaningful and significant differences that objectively separate these institutions or ... enable a set of relevant differences among these institutions to arise" (Bourdieu, 1996: 232):

- Differentiating the institutions of higher education in Mozambique in terms of possession of different forms of capital. Statistical data was gathered from the higher education institutions and documents produced by the former Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology (MESCT) currently Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC).

- Delimiting the level of aggregation on which observations have to be based. As argued by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:104), the concept of field can be used at different levels of aggregation: for instance, the university, the totality of disciplines or the faculty of the human sciences. As a consequence, one would look at the macro-level of aggregation, that is, to look at the system - relational level.

- Establishing the existence of 'field effects'. Strategies, usurpations, exclusion in the competition, struggles for monopoly forms of capital are the chief indicators to ascertain whether a particular social space (relations among or institutions) is functioning as a field, as well as the instruments for empirically determining the limits of this field.

Hence, it is necessary to undertake an analysis of relations between social positions and position-taking (prises de positions) of the higher education institutions, that is, the 'choices' they made or make in their domain of practice (Bourdieu, 1998). In other words, it is necessary to sketch the structure of positions within the field or to draw a social typology of the positions occupied by the different actors (higher education institutions) within the field. This research has already been partly this exercise.

According to Bourdieu (1996:132) this methodological stance led us to gather all the relevant properties, that is, all those subject to significant and signifying variation per establishment, for all students (or a representative fraction thereof) at all the relevant institutions, that is, all the institutions that were absolutely essential to reveal the system of objective relations existing among them.

Hence, that led me to treat the universe of institutions of higher education in Mozambique as a field and give the means to 'construct the network of the objective relations among establishments that, like heavenly bodies belonging to the same gravitational field, produce effects upon one another from afar' (Bourdieu, 1996:132).

As stated before in chapter three, when operationalised the concept of field, this study focused on constructing a social space of positions. Hence, the disposition and the position-takings constitute a fruitful way forward in my future research.

6.4 Concluding comment

This study hopes to contribute to

- Bourdieu's theory of social field and capital in terms of how it can be applicable in a trans-cultural reality. It attempts an answer for a question that Bourdieu was himself interested in, namely the relations between particular and universal explanations in social science, and the issue of the transferability of his concepts, such as cultural capital;

- Higher education studies in Mozambique by suggesting a theoretical and sociological framework to examine the implications of the expansion and diversification. The theoretical framework is an alternative to the common policy studies that dominate the actual knowledge production in Mozambican higher education.

- Policy in terms of establishing a scholarly based research on higher education as a social institution and an object with its own merit.

It is hoped that the above contributions will help consolidate previous knowledge and suggest a way forward to further understanding. Finally, and most importantly as a sociology thesis, I hope to provide self-enlightenment and offer an opportunity to think about the institutions that we are socially-constructing.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Statistical data, tables on different forms of capital [cultural, economic, scientific and social]

Table 1: Cultural capital of different higher education institutions measured by qualifications of academic staff in 2003

Indicators of Cultural Capital	Measured by staff academic qualifications									
	Full time staff									
Institution	BA/BSc		BA Hons.		MA/MSc		PhD		Subtotal	
Public	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ACIPOL	0	*0.0*	23	*74.2*	5	*16.1*	3	*9.7*	31	*100*
ISRI	0	*0.0*	12	*42.9*	14	*50.0*	2	*7.1*	28	*100*
UEM	2	*0.3*	388	*59.6*	134	*20.6*	127	*19.5*	651	*100*
UP	0	*0.0*	168	*72.7*	33	*14.3*	30	*13.0*	231?	*100*
EN	7	*28.0*	12	*48.0*	6	*24.0*	0	*0.0*	25	*100*
Subtotal	9	*31*	603	*297.4*	192	*125*	*162*	*49.3*	*966*	*100*
Private										
ISCTEM	1	*6.7*	11	*73.3*	1	*6.7*	2	*13.3*	15	*100*
ISPU	0	*0.0*	19	*70.4*	3	*11.1*	5	*18.5*	27	*100*
ISUTC	0	*0.0*	4	*44.4*	2	*22.2*	3	*33.3*	9	*100*
UCM	42	*32.8*	40	*31.3*	36	*28.1*	5	*3.9*	128	*100*
UDM	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	1	*100*	0	*0.0*	1	*100*
UMMB	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	0	*100*
Subtotal	*42*	*39.5*	*74*	*219.4*	*43*	*168.1*	*15*	*69*	180	*100*
	Part Time Staff									
Institution	BA/BSc		BA Hons.		MA/MSc		PhD		Subtotal	
Public	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ACIPOL	0	*0*	26	*47.3*	22	*40*	7	*12.7*	55	*100*
ISRI	0	*0*	30	*96.8*	1	*3.2*	0	*0*	31	*100*
UEM	0	*0*	229	*78.2*	40	*13.7*	24	*8.2*	293	*100*
UP	0	*0*	49	*77.8*	8	*12.6*	6	*9.5*	63?	*100*
EN	1	*14.2*	6	*85.7*	0	*0*	0	*0*	7	*100*
Subtotal	1	*14.2*	340	*305.8*	71	*69.5*	37	*30.4*	*449*	*100*
Private										
ISCTEM	2	*1.2*	118	*68.2*	37	*21.4*	16	*9.2*	173	*100*
ISPU	4	*2.6*	107	*70.9*	31	*20.5*	9	*6.0*	151	*100*
ISUTC	0	*0*	32	*64*	14	*28*	4	*8.0*	50	*100*
UCM	25	*27.8*	47	*52.2*	15	*16.7*	1	*1.1*	90	*100*
UDM	1	*3.1*	22	*68.8*	9	*28.1*	0	*0*	32	*100*
UMMB	4	*7.5*	42	*79.2*	6	*11.3*	1	*1.9*	53	*100*
Subtotal	*36*	*42.5*	*368*	403.3	*112*	*126*	*31*	*26.2*	549	*100*

Adapted from source: Higher Education and Research Institutions Statistical Data (Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, 2003)

Table 2: Scientific capital (academic form) of different higher education institutions measured by academic positions of academic staff in 2003

Indicators of Cultural Capital	Measured by Staff Academic Positions											
	Full time staff											
Institution	Probationary		Assistant Lecturer		Auxiliary professor		Associate Professor		Full professor		Total	
Public	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		%
ACIPOL	10	*32.3*	14	*45.2*	6	*19.4*	1	*3.2*	0	*0.0*	31	*100*
ISRI	11	*35.5*	19	*61.3*	1	*3.2*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	31?	*100*
UEM	186	*28.6*	349	*53.6*	73	*11.1*	37	*5.7*	7	*1.1*	651	*100*
UP- b)	55	*22.5*	160	*65.3*	15	*6.1*	14	*5.7*	1	*0.4*	245?	*100*
EN- d)	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	25	*100*
Subtotal Private												
ISCTEM	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	NAP
ISPU	6	*22.2*	12	*44.4*	9	*33.3*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	27	*100*
ISUTC	0	*0.*	6	*66.7*	0	*0.0*	3	*33.3*	0	*0.0*	9	*100*
UCM	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*100*
UDM	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*100*
UMMB	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*100*
Total												
	Part Time Staff											
Institution												
Public												
ACIPOL	0	*0.0*	26	*47.3*	25	*45.5*	4	*7.3*	0	*0.0*	55	*100*
ISRI	7	*30.4*	16	*69.6*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	0	*0.0*	23?	*100*
UEM	77	*26.3*	167	*57*	42	*14.3*	7	*2.4*	0	*0.0*	293	*100*
UP c)	16	*14.6*	77	*70*	11	*10*	6	*5.5*	0	*0.0*	110?	*100?*
EN	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	?	*NAP*
Subtotal Private												
ISCTEM d)	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	173	*NAP*
ISPU	35	*23.2*	99	*65.6*	16	*10.6*	1	*0.7*	0	*0.0*	151	*100*
ISUTC	0	*0.0*	46	*92.0*	3	*6.0*	1	*2.0*	0	*0.0*	50	*100*
UCM	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*
UDM	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	32	*NAP*
UMMB	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	NAP	*NAP*	53	*NAP*
Total												

a) Source: Data gathered for the research and supplied by higher education institution 2006

b) Data confronted with: Source: Higher Education and Research Institutions Statistical Data (Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, 2005

Alternative sources: Planning Direction 2002, actualised in the present research for 2003. See also: Dias (2003).

c) Scientific Direction (2004). *Preliminary Data on Research at UP*

d) **NAP:** No Academic Positions classification is in use in the institution.

Table 3: Scientific capital of higher education institutions measured by staff scientific publications and academic events in 2003

Indicators of scientific and Academic capital	Measured by staff scientific publications and academic events							
Institution	Scientific publication				Academic events			
	N° of Books published		N° of articles published		N° Conferences Attendance		N°seminars or workshops	
	Nat.* Pub	Inter.** Pub	Nat. Pub	Inter. Pub	National Events	International events	National Events	International Events
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Public								
ACIPOL	0	0	0	0	7	0	35	0
ISRI	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
UEM- a)	0	0	67	2	2	2	4	0
UP- b)	18	1	24	1	5	9	32	3
EN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Private								
ISCTEM	1	0	0	0	2	3	17	0
ISPU-c)	0	0	1	0	4	0	4	0
ISUTC	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
UCM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UDM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UMMB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**18**	**1**	**91**	**3**	**20**	**16**	**115**	**3**

Source: Data gathered for the research and supplied by higher education institution 2006

* National Publication

** International Publication

a) Eduardo Mondlane University (2005). *III Seminar of Investigation- book of papers 2003*. Maputo: University Press.

a) Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (2005) Dados e Factos. Maputo: Imprensa Universitária

b) Source:Universidade Pedagógica (2004) Dados Preliminares sobre Investigação na Universidade Pedagógica. Maputo:Direção Científica (Não Publicado)

b) Source: data provided by ISPU (Dra Irena Mendes) Scientific and Pedagogic Vice-Director.

Table 4: Economic capital of higher education institutions measured by volume and variety of sources of funding or income in 2003

Indicators of Economic Capital	Measured by volume and variety of funding or income sources				
	Students fees/ Own funds	Public Funds	Direct Donors funds	Others	Total
Institution	%	%	%	%	100%
Public (a)					
ACIPOL	*0.0*	*27.3*	*72. 7*	*0*	*100*
ISRI	*1.01*	*77.4*	*0.0*	*21.6*	*100*
UEM_b)	*13.4*	*51.9*	*23.3*	*11.4*	*100*
UP	*?*	*?*	*?*	*?*	*100*
FN	1.6	81.5	0	16.9	100
Private (a)					
ISCTEM	100	0	0	0	*100*
ISPU	100	0	0	0	*100*
ISUTC	100	0	0	0	*100*
UCM	51.7	0	35.2	13.1	*100?*
UDM	100	0	0	0	*100*
UMMB	100	0	0	0	*100*

Source: Data gathered for the research and supplied by higher education institution 2006

a) Values in Meticais had been converted into USD the tax of annual average exchange of 2003 of commercial the banking market, as divulged for the Bank of Moçambique in www.bancomoc.mz [$1 = 23,340.88; 1 Euro = 26,360.45].

b) Eduardo Mondlane University (2003) Financial Report. In: www.uem.mz [Access date: 15/07/06]

Table 5: Economic capital of higher education institutions measured by staff salary scale per month 2003

Indicators of Economic Capital	Probationary BA hons	Associate Professor MA/MSc	Auxiliary Professor PhD	Full Professor MA/MSc/PhD
Institution				
Public				
ACIPOL a_)	525 x n° h	$28 x n° h	$32 x n° h	
ISRI c)	5.915.286.00	7.512.413.00	9.878.527.00	12.008.030.
UEM –c)	5.915.286.00	7.512.413.00	9.878.527.00	12.008.030.
UP- c)	5.915.286.00	7.512.413.00	9.878.527.00	12.008.030.
UN –c)	5.915.286.00	7.512.413.00	9.878.527.00	12.008.030
Private				
ISCTEM	517- 523 x h	517 - $23 x h	520- $31x h	520- 531x h
Mean	***$20***	***$20***	***$25.5***	***$25.5***
ISPU	$24-525 x h	$26-531x h	$32-$36x h	$38-$42 x h
Mean	***$24.5***	***$28.5***	***$34***	***$40***
ISUTC	$14 $15x h	$22 $25x h	$28 $30x h	$32 35 x h
Mean	***$14.5***	***$23.5***	***$29***	***$33.5***
UCM_				12.85
Mean				
UDM	**$30 x h**	**$30 x h**	**$30 x h**	**$30 x h**
Mean				
UMMB				

Sources: Data gathered for the research and supplied by higher education institution 2006

a) All values were exchanged into USA dollars according to the exchange average rate in the year 2003, $1 = 23,240.88, Bank of Mozambique.

b) ACIPOL was at the time not applying the State salary scale due to the installation phase. The salary was paid by the donors' project in USD according to the number of lecturing hours.

c) The values correspond to the base salary for University Lectures which add to 75% for special extra.

Table 6: Social capital of higher education institutions measured by size of network of connections with other -Higher Education- institutions in 2003/2004

Indicators for Social Capital	N° agreements or cooperation protocols (academic)		Membership of scientific organization		Cooperation with voluntary organizations and civil society (Non-academic)	
	National %	International %	National %	International %	National %	International %
Public						
ACIPOL	7	7	0	0	0	2
ISRI	0	4	1	2	0	0
UEM_ a)	5 a)	12a)	0 a)	4a)	0 a)	0 a)
UP	4	6	0	2	0	0
EN	3	1	0	0	0	0
Private						
ISCTEM	4	8	0	0	0	0
ISPU	2	23	0	3	31	3
ISUTC	1	3	0	0	0	0
UCM	0	1	0	0	4	2
UDM	0	0	0	0	0	0
UMMB	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Data gathered for the research and supplied by higher education institution 2006
Source: Data supplied by the Public Relations Office of UEM in 2006.

Appendix 2: List of Higher Education Institutions in Mozambique in 2006

Higher Education Institutions in Mozambique (2006)

	Acronym	Name	Year of Creation
Publics	ACIPOL	Police Academy	1999
	AM	Military Academy	2003
	ESCN	Higher School of Nautical Sciences	2004
	ISCISA	Higher Institute of Heath Sciences	2003
	ISRI	Higher Institute of International Relations	1986
	UEM	Eduardo Mondlane University	1962
	UP	Pedagogic University	1985
	ISCAM	Higher Institute of Accounting and Audit of Mozambique	2005
	ISPG	Higher Polytechnic Institute of Gaza (Agrarian)	2005
	ISPM	Higher Polytechnic Institute of Manica (Agrarian)	2005
	ISPT	Higher Polytechnic Institute of Tete (Mining)	2005
	Sub total	*11*	
Private	ISCTEM	Higher Institute of Science and Technology of Mozambique	1996
	ISPU	Higher Polytechnic Institute and University	1995
	ISUTC	Higher Institute of Transport and Communications	1999
	UCM	Catholic University of Mozambique	1995
	UDM	Technical University of Mozambique	2002
	UMMB	Mussa Bin Bique University	1998
	USTM	Sto Thomas University of Mozambique	2004
	UJPM	Jean Piaget University of Mozambique	2004
	ISET	Higher Institute of Education and Technology	2005
	ISC	Christian Higher Institute	2005
	ESEG	Higher School of Economy and Management	2005
	ISFIC	Higher Institute for Training, Investigation and Science	2005
	Sub total	*12*	
	Total	*23*	

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture-Directorate for the Coordination of Higher Education (2006)

Appendix 3: Primary sources consulted

1. Capece, Bettencourt (PhD): Higher Institute of Science and Technology of Mozambique (ISCTEM). Scientific Director, Maputo.
2. Chilundo, Arlindo, (PhD): Ministry of Education and Culture; Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education. Higher education Coordinator [key informant]
3. Dias, Adalberto: Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC); Directorate for Coordination of Higher Education
4. José, Fernanda D. C R [MA?]: Catholic University of Mozambique, Headmaster's Office. Human Resources Manager, Beira, Central province Mozambique.
5. Kunchenje, Berno : Higher Institute for International Relation(ISRI), Pedagogic Director
6. Leanel Acade (BA Hons): Military Academy. Nampula, Northern Province
7. Manso, Paula (MA): Pedagogic University (UP), Public Relationship Office
8. Mário, Mouzinho (PhD): Former Dean of the Faculty of Education (1999-2006), large expertise on higher education studies. He has conducted several researches in Higher Education in Mozambique [key informant]
9. Mendes, Irene (MA): Higher Institute Polytechnic and University (ISPU). Deputy-Vice Scientific and Pedagogic Director for the School of Social Sciences and Juridical, Maputo.
10. Mugunhe, Benedito [MA?]: Technical University of Mozambique (UDM), Maputo, Southern province
11. Quilambo, Orlando (PhD): Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) Scientific Deputy- Vice Chancellor.
12. Tsukane: Policy Academy (ACIPOL). Pedagogic Director
13. Utui, Rogério (PhD): He has considerable expertise in higher education in Mozambique. He has conducted some research on Higher Education in Mozambique [key informant]

Appendix 4: Interview schedule

Expected duration of interview: (60 to 90 minutes)

Key Questions (Open questions)

Section a: Expansion

1. We have been witnessing since the middle of 1990s a progressive expansion and diversification of higher education suppliers in the country. You are a member of the former 'working commission for strategic plan of higher education', and someone who was directly evolved in evaluating the sector.

    a) Do you have any idea why the expansion and diversification had begun in middle of 1990s?
    b) What are the motor causes of the expansionist phenomenon of higher education in the country?

Section B: Competition

2. As a former member of the 'working commission for the strategic plan of higher education', which was set up by the government to evaluate the strengths and weakness of the sector, you have an accumulated knowledge in how the sector is functioning.
    a) As the field of higher education expands do you see any kind of competition among higher education institutions in supplying higher education services in the country?
    b) For instance, have you witnessed any kind of competition for getting more and better students, or for any other kind of resources?
    c) Does this competition lead to differentiation, for instance, in public and private, religious and secular, profit and non-profit suppliers?
    d) If not, where does this differentiation come from?
    e) In your opinion, what are the positives, if there are any, and the negatives as consequences of the competition?

Section C: *'Feel for the game', stakes and strategies*

3. Would you compare sector of higher education with its different institutions (private and public; (secular and religious) with a game, in a sense that there is competition among institution, for instance, to attract more and better students?

    a) If yes, what are, in you opinion, the stakes in that game, and what are the *trump cards* (strategies) the institutions are using to win in that game?
    b) If we consider a constellation of higher education institutions, as a in the game, would you be able to rank the institutions it terms of how are they performing in that game? For instance could you name the top three institutions, (and perhaps, also), the bottom three?
    c) Which elements you considered in you classification? Why?

Section D: ***concluding remarks***

Is there any question you expected me to ask, or do you have any other issue in addition to what we have talked about?

I thank you for your time

End

Appendix 5: Fragments of the interviews

This research includes a supplementary appendix to explore the three interviews conducted during the fieldwork. I explore the dimensions of expansion, competitions, stakes and strategies which the agents may struggle for in that particular field. The intention of the interviews, as I stated in the methodology of this study, is to explore hypothetically the dynamics of the field. The structure of the field, that is, the typology of positions does not allow me to draw conclusions on its dynamics. A further and accurate research should be done to examine the dynamics and its implications.

The dimensions of competition, strategies, interest and stakes of agents are, thus, the ones I consider as the more significant as indicators of field dynamic. It is important, however, to recall two important properties of the field represented in the analytical framework in chapter 3 as a space of conflict and competition. The competition brings into the field the dynamic aspect, that is, a relational configuration endowed with a specific gravity, which it imposes on all the objects and agents which enter in it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:17).

i) Competition between institutions

> 'We can indeed, with caution, compare a field to a game (jeu) although, unlike the latter, a field is not a product of a deliberate act of creation, and it follows rules or, better, regularities, that are not explicit and codified. Thus we have stakes (enjeux), which are for the most part product of a competition between players ... (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 98).

A deregulated and distorted process

I sought after analytical categories of the relational dimensions to make inferences about the existence of field dynamics in Mozambique higher education. To do so, I asked them a set of questions on whether there is any kind of competition, which they could notice among higher education institutions (see Appendix 4 interview schedule). All my interviewees concurred in their analysis that expansion led to a certain kind of competition among the higher education institutions. The arguments they presented put different emphasis on different factors. For instance, they argued that the new forces of the market economy and the political changes to a liberal,

representative and multiparty 'democracy' are creating an appropriate environment for competition among higher education institutions.

My interviewees admitted that the existence of some sort of competition did not lead them to think that the competition ought to be the way it is. If fact, the normative argument of what the competition should look like is less important than the fact that they admit there is some sort of competition as it appears in the following fragment:

> 'Well, competition exists in the way that in a very small space like Maputo , where you have concentrated more the 60% of higher education institutions of the country, certainly this drives to a competition. It drives them to a competition not only in terms of the quality of the courses and programmes which they supply, but also in terms of the resources and students they need. Beside I also feel that there is really more competition between the private and the public institutions' (sic) (MM, interviewed, Maputo, 23/05/06)[18].

In the above quotation we have competition explained as a result of the gathering together of various higher education institutions in Maputo. On the other hand, the ratio between the number higher education institutions and the people demanding higher education in the capital city is something to take into account. The interviewee also refers to the opposition between private and public higher education institutions as reasonable enough to see competition among institutions.

From another interviewee I got a more normative answer to the question of the existence of competition. A.C answer is remarkable for its policy tendency discourse. It suggests the way competition ought to look like and what should be done to regulate it. In other words, it expresses desirable kind of competition.
The next citation shows that:

> 'Yeah, there is competition, though it is not consolidated. The competition will be more consolidated when we have an instrument for quality control. Then, we will see the real competition happening. At this moment, as the market is very fertile, the demand is far more than the supply; and the competition is not that strong. For instance, if an individual fails to enter UEM he goes to ISPU. No, it is the other way, he tries UP and if he fails to enter UP then he may try ISPU and so forth' (AC, interviewed, Maputo, 09/06/06).

The quotation above reveals a dimension which would be worth investigating in further research projects. The choices and the alternatives that applicants make when it comes to continuing their tertiary education in Mozambique can be seen as an

[18] I transcribed and translated into English all the direct quotation from the interviews.

indicator of competition. The interviewee M.M reinforces another dimension that has been referred to before, the competition between public and private institutions:

> 'Exactly. Why do I think that there is a competition between the private and public institutions? That is because the private are profit-searching institutions by their nature. They are there for profit reason. What the private institutions actually do is look for profits, even when they state a different goal. That is why they have to minimize the investments. One kind of investment that is much more of a burden is that on academic staff and lectures for any training institution. Therefore, to avoid high costs, most private institutions tend to recruit lectures from the public institutions. They pay them relatively well if compared to what the public pays, and, hence there is competition in terms of resources. Nonetheless, in terms of the programmes I do not see a considerable competition' (M.M, interviewed, Maputo, 23/05/06).

Somehow all the interviewees expressed with slight differences in emphasis the idea of an existing though distorted competition. Some interviewees put much emphasis on the market distortion, while others emphasise the deregulated process or even the two arguments together as follows:

> 'Yeah, this competition still ... is a distorted competition. It is not a competition... yeah... how would I put it? It is not a competition where the rules are defined. It is not a straightforward competition. And I will tell you why. The state, at this moment, is the only one of its kind giving the expensive courses. You know that in the universities there are expensive courses and other that are not expensive. For instance, a social science course; we call it sciences of *'pen and paper'*. All you need is a lecture theatre (amphitheatre) and the students holding a pen and paper' (R. U, interviewed, Maputo, 08/06/06).

Another feature that appears from the above quotation reinforces the idea of an opposition between private and public higher education institutions. For the interviewee state universities are the ones targeting the most expensive courses. In other words, the state higher education institutions are the ones opening and supplying programmes in the 'hard sciences' or natural sciences, such as engineering and health sciences that require lots of investment in laboratories, machinery and so forth. Private institutions will invest more in lower cost courses or programmes such as social sciences, law, managements and so forth, courses that, according to the interviewee, only require *'pen and paper'*.

ii) Competition, expansion and diversification

Similarity of programmes and courses

An issue that was raised in the interviews is that related to the similarity of programmes and/or courses offered by the different higher education institutions,

mostly, the new private institutions. The general structure of the curriculum or syllabus is basically constituted of a pattern of three or four scientific subjects: (1) Law, (2) Economy and Management (3) Social Sciences and, with some exceptions, (4) Informatics and Communication. According to the interviews – and here also there is a convergence in interpretation of the phenomenon – the reason behind that pattern is the lower costs in investment associated with those disciplines and the highest level of profit in a very short period of time after the investment in capital has been done. That is seen as a pattern generated not only by the competition, but also by the sort of other factors such as the massive demand for those courses, the sense of opportunity of the entrepreneur, the deregulation of expansion and so forth.

> 'There a significant similarity in terms of the programmes offered in the private institutions. There is none which does not offer a law course, none which does not offer management courses and also none which does not offer informatics (ICT)' (MM, interviewed, Maputo, 23/05/06).

M.M continues:

> 'Well, there is a simple reason for that. These are courses that are more in accord with what has been named the modern sector of economy, the tertiary sector of services. Thus, that is where we can find the majority of people in their working ages and requiring training not just to deliver well their duties at work but mostly to increase their salaries etc. Let us see it like this. Many people in that age group fail to enter a university for a variety of reasons and they end up working, though still wanting to get a university degree. This is the major source of students for private higher education institution in the country, but also for the publics. UEM, for example, have now introduced the 'pós-laboral' courses (evening courses or programmes) [19] (MM. Interviewed, Maputo, 23/05/06).

R.U proceeds in his characterisation of 'pen and paper' courses:

> 'Let us say, perhaps in developed countries, access to the Internet would be another requirement as well as a library. Here we do not have either, but they are offering those courses, economy, law and so forth. On the other hand, there are courses that are extremely expensive. A course in physics, okay, let us say is medium cost, engineering courses added. You need laboratories, computers and some other resources to make it happen. There are courses that are really expensive, extremely expensive ones. This is the case of medical courses. In addition to all infrastructures that you must have you still need people. You need patients. In some cases there is need of corpses. Human medicine it is an extremely expensive course' (R.U, interviewed, Maputo, 08/06/06).

This is the case in which the emphasis is explicitly placed on the nature of the courses in terms of the costs. The argument of a distorted competition is also mentioned;

[19] In Mozambique the so-called part-time courses run after the 'normal' considered eight hours daily labour (from 7.30 am to 15.30 pm). The courses normally start after 4 pm.

however this time related to the 'rational'[20] economic choices made by those who set up the higher education institution, particularly, the private institutions entrepreneurs.

> 'Thus, just to make you see the reason why I say that the competition is not honest; the state is the only one giving these courses. I will tell you why. That is because nobody wants to make investment in something that is expensive. You see. So the concept of higher education we see here ... whenever there is a new institution opening, a private one, we already know that invariably it will be offering social sciences, law, economy and that is it, nothing more. They would also probably offer engineering of informatics, given that computers nowadays are also cheap. That is it. I have never seen anybody coming with the idea of offering Mechanical engineering, or Astrophysics, Chemistry in which students need money to buy the reactant for their experiments. Nobody wants to invest in that kind of courses. Thus, the competition is not loyal. If it has to be loyal a private university would supply the same courses that the state is offering and then the potential candidates would choose. That is not what is actually happening. And if you want to know, people, here, go to the private after they have applied for UEM. You know that very well. Thus, each student who completes the grade 12 in this country still sees UEM as his first option. Only when he fails in the admission exams then he starts looking for alternatives. Then I would not call this a real competition. Competition is when you can choose, and base your choices on the information that you have got (R. U interviewed, Maputo, 08/06/06).

So far, I have pointed out some of the views of my interviewees regarding competition in Mozambican higher education. Two sorts of ideas can be summarised from the quotations. The first recognised the existence of some kind of competition, even though it is not consolidated or regulated and is distorted competition, mostly that between private and public institutions. The second idea underlined by the interviewees is that private higher education institutions strategically chose to supply only courses or programmes that require lower cost investment. I also noted a tendency for a normative argument, which states a desire on how the competition should look:

> That is a distortion of the market, that kind of things that we will continue to see in our market until there is a regulator instrument. It can happen that the market will slowly do that regulation. If you supply massively the market with particular courses the market will reject them. In our country we now have this kind of phenomenon of people holding ours degree and still cannot find a job. The market, for me, is the major regulator; while we still have demand on those courses they will keep offering them. There will be a time we parents will stop and think: 'why would I pay my children's fees to study Law or Social Science while he/she is going to be unemployed? But, that kind of thought is not happening yet. Both sides are taking advantages. While the demand is there institutions will keep offering these courses and the parents will be sending their children. The institutions are making quick money from both sides: from the people who still demand for their services and from the absence of a regulation in terms of the use of the academic staff from other institutions. What is going to happen tomorrow it is not their business that is the country's problem and, not theirs. '– My business

[20] I am aware here of the dispute Bourdieu makes with those who reduce the choices of agents in the manner expostulated by rational-choice theorists. In fact, that reductionism, according to Wacquant hides the paradoxical movement that Bourdieu effects by means of the conceptual triad of habitus, capital and field which consists in *expanding the sphere of interest while reducing that of utility and consciousness (italic in the original)* (Bourdieu and Wacquant Wacquant, 1992: 25).

> is going well', that is it. That is the logic of the private institutions. They are just looking for their own benefits. At the moment they do not think about the sub-system of higher education as a whole. Thus, the state must intervene and regulate by establishing instruments to control some of these situations (AC, interviewed, Maputo, 09/06/06).

iii) Competition, interest and strategies

'Feel for the game': stake and strategies

> 'Players agree, by the mere fact of playing, and not by way of contract that the game is worth playing, that it is worth the candle, and this collusion[21] is the very basis of their competition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:98).

Bourdieu's concepts almost invariably lead to certain kinds of controversies. Whether on the overcoming of the dilemma between subjectivism and objectivism, agency and structure, conscious or unconscious action, the controversy becomes an intellectual challenge. This is the case with the concepts of *interest* and *strategy*. The meaning that I give to these two concepts here claims a non-explicit conscious project by the agents, particularly the entrepreneur of private institutions. Following Bourdieu's rational, the strategies are suggested by the concept of habitus as *'feel for the game'*, on a mode of 'pretension'... towards the 'objective potentialities' immediately given in the immediate present' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:129).

The gathering of higher education institutions in the capital city of Maputo mentioned before, in one of the interviews, led to institutions adopting *strategies* to guarantee their own population of students. This argument is presented in some of the interviews as a really challenging issue which requires strategic action within a competitive environment to attract students. Although, there is no total agreement in all statements, the argument for the need of strategies is present:

> 'For instance, we have seen lately a hustle of some institutions to take on students even before they are ready for the university. They recruit students at the secondary level and maintain them until they get to higher education level in that particular institution. That comes as a guaranty that they (students) will be successful in the admission exams. So this is the kind of strategic competition amongst the institutions to get their students. Besides, I also presume that there is a competition more between the private and the public institutions' (MM, interviewed, Maputo, 23/05/06).

[21] Emphasis in the original

This is not the vision all interviewees share. For R.U, for instance, UEM has its own guaranteed population of students who will remain there independently of the presumable scarcity of students. The scarcity of students according to R.U can only affect the private institutions whose population is the minority who can afford private education. For R.U UEM attracts students from all social classes and particularly from lower social classes, peasants, and working classes. Beside, UEM also offers all the courses that any other institution is offering. This argument is justified in the following manner:

> Nevertheless, you can notice that UEM is exempt from that competition for students. That may be the case because UEM acknowledges that there are areas of action which other institutions will never tackle. UEM will continue for a very long term taking an advantaged position, because people know that ISPU or ISCTEM or any other institution would not offer physics, engineering programmes and so forth. Supplying that kind of courses would be very difficult for them (R.U, interviewed, Maputo).

Answering the question on whether the institutions pursue any kind of strategies to attract students, AC said:

> 'I do not think so; actually I think they do nothing. Perhaps UEM is the sole institution which actually selects its students by the mean of admission exams. There are about fifteen to sixteen thousands students competing for two thousands places each year. UEM is, thus, the unique institution with a clear strategy to select their students. A selection based on merit, I mean supposedly based on academic merit. At least that is the explicit criterion. At this moment I think that we are still in the early days of a competitive field of higher education' (AC, interviewed, Maputo, 09/06/06).

Attract better academic staff

I also asked my interviewees whether higher education institutions have any strategy to attract academic staff (see Appendix 4 section 3 of the guide for interviews). The views of the interviewees are once again different:

> No there is no competition to attract better lecturers. If there was competition the private institutions would pay a salary to maintain a full-time staff. That is not what they are doing; they make use of the academic staff that is trained by the public institutions. That is not competition; they are just taking advantage, being opportunist. They attract to their institutions lecturers to teach for a few hours. The same lecturer teaches in one, two, three institutions a few hours. That attitude is very harmful for the system of higher education in the country ... If that was an incentive we would end up – you are included – abandoning UEM and becoming a full-time lecturers in those private institutions. But, that is not what is happening. They just pay you for some hours for you to teach there and leave. They do not take any risks; the state is the one carrying out all the risks. For instance, the state is the one paying retirement pension to its staff when they retire (AC, interviewed, Maputo, 09/06/06).

Another view is presented by R.U:

> That is a strategy of earning money, when they search for the less qualified lecturers. If you go there, for instance, (sic) someone like me, if I get there and say I am a professor, I am PhD for more than 13 years; this is my portfolio; I have been lecturing for more than 20 years at UEM, they will immediately deny me. We do not need that kind of staff, they will tell me. Firstly, because the level of demand is higher in terms of salary and working conditions and the level of autonomy is also huge. If I think that the student performance, in my subject, is what I stipulated no one could argue with me. One day I met a young man who graduated last year with honours degree from UEM. Believe me, he is now lecturing in one of these private institutions. When I ask him: oh, are you an assistant (in probation)? He said: 'No I am actually the lecturer'. Do you see that? This is the kind of lecturers the private institutions go for. They invest less and maximize the profit (R. U, interviewed, Maputo, 08/06/06).

Getting students in the secondary and higher School

As part of the strategies in a competing environment one of the interviewees suggested that higher education institutions started to 'hunt' for students from the secondary level. They go offering courses in the secondary level to ensure that a certain number of students would prefer to pursue their tertiary education in the same institutions where the chances of succeeding would be very much higher. ISPU and ISCTEM recruit students from secondary education, that is, before they enrol in tertiary education as a strategy to guarantee students (clients) at the tertiary level.

> '...These institutions became aware that if they take students from lower levels that would be a mechanism to maintain their clients, a particular feature of clients, those who can afford private education. If the children are getting good final results and progressing from one degree to another their parents would do whatever it takes to keep them in that particular institution. In this particular case, I suppose that they recruit, let us say ISCTEM; I guess they are recruiting students who are not confident and ensure they are going to pass. Thus, they would rather attend a secondary school at an institution, which will guarantee access to tertiary education from the very beginning of their careers. They sell the dream of entering university at an affordable price' (M.M, Interviewed, Maputo, 23/05/06).

Ranking higher education institutions

The last question I posed to my interviewees is to rank higher education institutions, that is, to place them in a hierarchical position and explain the criterion they were using in their classification. The objective of the exercise was not to scrutinize thickly and take for granted their categories of classification. The objective is more modest. I sought to get a sense of the implicit or explicit criterion they were using in their classification.

> You are asking me what the top five are. That is difficult. However, there is no doubt that UEM is still above all. There is a diversity of reasons for that: they have got tradition; they have their own academic staff; they have infrastructure. These are very important factors for any university. They have a serious academic staff that has been trained for three decades. UEM counts at this moment approximately a hundred and something PhDs. Those numbers can make jealous any South African university; you know that. Our physics department has more PhDs than the physics department of Wits; do you understand what I mean? We have 15 PhDs in the department. They have got their degrees from universities all around the world, in the UK, Sweden, South Africa and so forth. UEM will remain, far above the others, on top; though in the last five years, in particular, UEM is experiencing a very harmful management. However, UEM will prevail over those temporary problems. I believe that the problems are just '*a drop in the ocean*' and the current managers sooner or later will have to leave. After UEM, for its metier, UP have good lecturers even if we consider that it is a university where the only issue is training teachers. Thus, it would be difficult to classify UP. Amongst the generalist universities, including the private institutions, certainly ISPU is on top; I have very limited knowledge on UCM and I would not like to aventure in classifying it. Sorry, I actually made a mistake. ISCTM comes before ISPU. The others are all the same, that is, equally weak, and that is an excuse to not rank them (R.U, interviewed, Maputo, 08/06/06).

M.M also gives his view on the ranking of higher education institutions in Mozambique.

> ... I would place UEM on the top position. I have no doubt about that choice. After UEM I would put ISPU and in the third position may be ISCTEM, in the fourth UCM and in the fifth UP. Well, it is a very subjective criterion, the one I am using. I have not any objective criterion to do that. I would have to get more data, more concrete data, and analyse them to classify that. Let us say I am using my personal experience of being in permanent contact with students of almost all institutions. The way they express themselves and other personal skills are the indicator I am using in my subjective classification. I get the signs from that. Probably I might have been a bit rude to UP; they may deserve the third position replacing ISCTEM' (MM, Interviewed, Maputo, 23/05/06)

From the above quotations we can get an indication of a variety of subjective and objective elements that my interviewees took into consideration to rank the institutions. The historical background of the institutions, the number and qualification of academic staff, the nature of each institution in terms of their vocation – all these constitute some categories of classification.

An intensive study of the implication of all those categories in the dynamics of the field would be necessary to examine their significance. Furthermore, the fact that we can talk on the possibility of classifying and raking higher education institutions is a signal that something has changed in the relations among the institutions within the social space of higher education in Mozambique. A silent revolution has occurred, indeed.

In further studies the task would be to analyse acutely to what extent the differences in possession of different forms of capital lead to the occupation of different positions in the field and what are the strategies for pursuit of better positions. In doing so, institutions will be creating the magnetic effect of the field, that is, competing to monopolize capital.

I have explored some of the views from the interviewees on the dynamics of the field. I sought to show tentatively what kind of elements we could observe in order to ascertain the existence of field effects. Competitions, strategies and stakes constitute some of the indicators to ascertain the existence of a functioning field. Examining those indicators should be the way forward